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ABSTRACT

This project provides descriptions of some points of contrast between Serbo-Croatian and English in the fields of phonology, grammar, and lexicon. The project concentrated particularly on the points showing difficulties for the English-speaking learner of Serbo-Croatian, thus forming the basis for development of teaching materials and guides for classroom procedure. The approach used was a contrastive analysis of the two language, combined with an error analysis of both written and spoken production of English-speakers learning Serbo-Croatian. The project was based on materials already collated from an earlier project on the same subject. In order to check the conclusions made from an error analysis of the earlier material, and to gather more material, a specially designed course in Serbo-Croatian was given to intermediate-level native English-speaking students. In addition, students who had studied in Zagreb were used as test subjects, providing further sources of interference analysis. Copies of the tests and summaries of the error analysis conclusions are provided. (Author/LG)

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Final Report

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Project for a Contrastive Analysis of the Sound Systems, Grammars and Lexicons of Serbo-Croatian and English. Phase I: Phonology and Grammar.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This project provides descriptions of some points of contrast between Serbo-Croatian and English in the fields of phonology, grammar, and lexicon.

The project concentrates particularly on the points showing difficulties for the English-speaking learner of Serbo-Croatian. Thus, this project forms the basis for development of teaching materials and guides for classroom procedure.

To achieve its aims, the project carried on linguistic analysis of the two languages in question, aiming at pointing out similarities and dissimilarities between them, in parallel with analysis of errors made by English-speaking learners of Serbo-Croatian on written and spoken tests and in spontaneous written and spoken production.

2. METHODS - PROCEDURES

This project is a continuation of a Serbo-Croatian-English project which had already offered some results of contrastive and error analysis. Therefore, the first step in the procedure was the analysis of all the results achieved by the YSCECP, trying to apply its results to contrastive analysis having Serbo-Croatian as the target language. In order to collect enough material for error analysis, students' written material from several courses in Serbo-Croatian for foreign learners was analysed. In this way, the main difficulties of English-speaking students learning Serbo-Croatian were identified and further examined with the aim of finding out their sources and causes. In order to complete the list of errors collected and check it properly a specially designed course in Serbo-Croatian was given for intermediate-level students with English mother tongue.

Members of the project met weekly to discuss working papers dealing with topics from the SC-E project which we considered to be promising for the present project. This work proved to be successful, as in very many cases it was possible to draw conclusions valuable for the E-SC project. In this way, about ten articles from the SC-E project were analysed. The experience gained in the SC-E project was also used in choosing topics that were already identified in the first project as typical sources of errors made by learners of SC.

Apart from the above topics, the project collected others from error analysis carried on on the written work done in SC courses by students of American and British origin. The group of Portland State University students who spent the year 1972-73 in Zagreb studying SC language and literature were used as test subjects. In this way, another set of sources and causes of interference were found and added to those collected during the first stage of the project's work. In order to extend the collection of errors, and to verify the already observed sources of errors,in February 1974 a special course was organized.

Its aim was to offer the project enough opportunities to test everything that was originally planned, but also to add new items which were not previously identified. The material worked on served for several papers that follow the Report. Of course, some of the papers were written on the basis of other material, but the course stimulated most of them.

Additional tests were acquired from London University and Nottingham University, where two members of the English Department of Zagreb University were teaching SC to English-speaking students.

Several papers use the result of personal research by W. Browne which coincided with the aim of the project. In this way, some topics were studied on a contrastive basis but were conceived as problems in SC to be analysed.

3. THE EXPERIMENTAL COURSE

The Course had two main purposes:

1) to get more material for error analysis
2) to test the conclusions we had come to by contrastive and error analysis

At the beginning of the project we decided to work in two fields in parallel: contrastive analysis and error analysis, as neither of the two could be sufficient by itself for our aim, the improvement of the teaching of SC to E-speakers. At the very beginning, analysing some materials produced by E-speakers (42 papers, compositions and course work, by students from the Portland State University group in Zagreb, written in 1971-2 and 1972-3.), we came to the conclusion that systematic EA could help contrastive analysis to concentrate on the problems most relevant for learning SC by E-speakers. At the same time contrastive analysis suggested some topics which should be investigated although the materials produced by E-speakers did not supply us with data about them. For those reasons we decided that EA could not be properly done on material collected at random. We compiled three tests and administered them to various groups of students:

Test	No. subjects	Group
1	8	Portland State, Zagreb, 1972-3
2	13	Portland State, Zagreb, 1972-3
	21	University of Kansas summer program, Zagreb, 1973
	19	Students in Nottingham, England 1972-3
3	15	University of Kansas summer program, Zagreb, 1973

These tests were translations of selected passages and sentences from E to SC. Test 3 also contained some transformations within SC: "Put into indirect discourse.., Make into yes-no questions..., Make questions referring to each part of this sentence..." (See Tests 1-3 , Appendix A.)

There was no organized group of E-speaking students studying SC in Zagreb during the school year 1973-74. Wishing to continue our EA, we organized an experimental course and invited American and English learners to participate.

Students

The group was composed of approximately 7 people all speaking English as their mother tongue. They were all intermediate students of SC although not all of them were specializing in the language. The course lasted for one hour twice a week, with written work once a week. There were 38 lessons altogether.

Topics

The choice of topics was based on the results of contrastive analysis done by W. Browne and EA done by A. Nakić and W. Browne.

1) Orthography

English and Serbo-Croatian both have a set of rules defining the usage of punctuation (putting in of commas, periods etc.), the way of writing compounds and abbreviations, the way of dividing a word at the end of a line, as well as the rules for the usage of capital letters. These rules differ in the two languages; even the way some letters and numbers are written differ.

A foreigner should learn these rules as their violation may lead to a misunderstanding (e.g. SC 1.555 = one thousand five hundred and fifty-five; E 1.555 = one point five five five or one and five hundred and fifty-five one-thousandths).

2) Pronunciation

Here we did not have in mind practicing the pronunciation of every separate sound. We concentrated only on the most important problems. E.g., in E unstressed vowels are reduced while in SC they are pronounced in full and their pronunciation is extremely important as the final vowels in SC (always unstressed) are usually endings. Then follow the notorious problems with SC accents. E-speakers, trained to hear and produce only the difference between stressed and unstressed vowels in E, will have to face four different varieties of stressed vowels, two falling (long ⌒ and short \\ ) and two rising (long / and short \ ). We also decided to work on sentence intonation as from experience we expected difficulties in that field. As is well known, imperfect sentence intonation is one of the most contributing factors in the perception of "foreign accent".

3) Morphology

The first results of EA pointed clearly to the most difficult problems in SC morphology. A small number of difficulties in this field had their source in interference (e.g. SC *usta*, pluralia tantum, is frequently treated as singular by our learners because of E *mouth*). E-speakers seemed to have problems with deviations from the most frequent patterns in SC. Thus, our students quickly learn that a noun ending in a consonant belongs to the declension *stol, stola* and is masculine in gender. A great number of nouns in SC behave in this way. But there are a certain number of nouns which are of feminine gender and belong to another type of declension, *stvar, stvari*, and these nouns will cause difficulties to the student. Having those preliminary results in mind, we decided to deal with the following problems: alternations of *a* with zero, nouns of feminine gender ending in a consonant, long and short plural forms (*rob, robovi* but *konj, konji*), plural nouns in relation to collective nouns (*cvjetovi* - *cvijeće*), vowel alternations in endings depending on the previous consonant (*selom* - *nožem*), nouns with stem extension in all the cases except in N and A singular (*rame*, *ramena*), addition of the suffix -*in* in the singular (*gradjan-in*, *gradjani*). Special attention had to be paid to the formation of various verbal forms as according to EA this seemed to be one of the crucial problems in Morphology. The problem is, first, that of selecting the correct endings, since different verbs require slightly different endings (there is more than one conjugation). Thus *vidje*- requires -*im* in the present tense, but *tonu*- requires -*em*. Second, the endings and the stem both undergo changes at the point where they meet. (vid~~je~~-im, ton~~u~~-em; tonu-o but pek-ao) Only rarely are there changes inside the stem. The E-speaker is used to adding endings to regular verbs in a fairly mechanical way (add,adds, added), and to changing vowels or consonants inside the stems of irregular verbs (get, got; teach; taught). Therefore the SC verb presents him with special problems since it is not like either his regular verbs nor his irregular verbs.

As with nouns, the foreign speaker tends to learn the most widespread patterns first and extend them to cover verbs which do not belong in them.

4) Syntax

Among the problems we found to be most important in teaching SC to E-speakers were aspect, se constructions, possessive constructions, different types of agreement, enclitics, word order, different types of clauses especially relative clauses. Most of these have been covered in separate studies.(See the accompanying papers). Verbal aspect is one of the most all-pervasive problems in learning a Slavic language, since practically every sentence contains a verb, and practically every verb demands the proper choice of aspect: perfective or imperfective. Using one in place of the other can lead both to ungrammaticality and to misunderstanding. We devoted two lectures to the use of aspect, as well as correcting aspect errors whenever they appeared. However we found no particular pattern in the observed errors, and so far have come to no final conclusions about how to eliminate them.

5) Lexis

From previous experience we knew that false pairs are a rich source of mistakes, so they were specially dealt with (e.g. SC angina "sore throat" vs. E angina "disease of the heart").

As many E students of SC know some Russian before they start studying SC, they have to be warned against using some words which have different meaning in SC (e.g. SC zanimati se "be interested in", R zanimat'sja "study, work on, be busy with").

We also dealt with many lexical problems that our students ran into, learning in this way which words should be specially taught to E-speakers. These are often words reflecting cultural differences (there is no special SC term for "repertory theater" since all Yugoslav theaters are repertory theaters) or differences in semantic fields (education vs. školovanje "schooling, training" for a specific purpose and obrazovanje "education" both in school and out of school).

Materials used for the course

Testing materials were prepared by W. Browne and A. Nakić. Besides being meant to supply us with material for EA and to test conclusions we had come to in previous work, they were also used as teaching material. There were 7 tests altogether. We also did a lot of translating with our students. The translations from both languages were taken from newspapers to avoid the literary style and to teach our students ordinary everyday SC. The only exception was a poem by A.G. Matoš "Jesenje veče" which was used to practice the pronunciation of final unstressed vowels. Because of its rhythm it seemed particularly suitable for the purpose.

Each test and translation was also given to 3-10 native SC speakers. Their answers served as a basis for comparison in our analysis. Further, wishing to make the written work a useful learning experience for our students, we not only corrected and discussed the observed mistakes, but also distributed copies of correct solutions with alternatives compiled from the native speakers' responses. Interestingly enough, this seems to have been a rather successful teaching method; we noticed a steady decline in the incidence of particular errors and a general improvement in the quality of the students' SC. However the number of students available (6-7) was far too small to permit statistical studies.

Teachers

All the topics mentioned in the chapter on topics were dealt with by W. Browne and A. Nakić in the course of practical work on translating from SC to E and from E into SC and in correcting written work (compositions, translations, testing material). M. Cesarec held a few lessons of free conversation. W. Browne attended those lessons in order to note down mistakes which students made in spontaneous speech.

Lecturers

Only a few lectures were organized as the course was not intended to be a series of lectures but a practical course. Members of the Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project were invited to speak about some specially difficult topics which had been treated contrastively in that project. V. Ivir spoke about false pairs, L. Spalatin about possessivity, M. Vlatković about aspect. R. Filipović informed our students about the project they were taking part in. W. Browne lectured on various topics: enclitics, verbs etc. but as he was also a regular teacher, his lectures were usually combined with some practical work.

Materials collected during the course

Written materials consisted of tests (mentioned above), translations from newspapers, compositions (letters, instructions). Tests and translations, as mentioned, were also done by several native speakers of SC. Oral material: Students were recorded while reading and in guided conversation. They were also recorded while reading sentences meant to represent the most important intonational patterns. For the sake of comparison, native speakers were also recorded reading the same sentences. During the taping it was found that both American students and SC speakers tended to read lists of sentences with list intonation (as in counting:

one , two , three , four , ...)

rather than giving each sentence the intonation it required. Two methods were devised to counteract this tendency. First, we asked each subject to read every sentence twice, thus breaking the monotony of the series. Second, we quickly learned to hide under the table the slips on which the sentences were written, presenting them one at a time so that the subject never knew whether he was reading the last of the series.

4. SUMMARIES OF THE ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

Since hardly any of the papers are purely Contrastive Analysis or purely Error Analysis, they will not be separated but presented together.

A number of papers are based, or partially based, on reports written for the earlier Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project; the sources will be mentioned together with each individual paper.

I Verbs and Verb Forms

1. W. Browne, "Teaching SC Equivalents to E Modals"
(See Appendix B.)
(Based on: D. Kalogjera, "Ten English Modals
and Their Equivalents in Serbo-Croatian",
in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, Reports 3,
Zagreb, 1970, pp. 62-87.)

Since E modals lack most inflections and grammatical forms, E-speaking learners may come to the conclusion that a corresponding verb in SC is also defective. Therefore the learner must be given not only modals but also synonymous verbs and expressions which supply the lacking forms as the E equivalents which correspond to the SC verb.

Once the learners have established the equivalence E modal - SC verb, they must be warned not to apply those equivalences directly if the E modal forms are the result of the E sequence of tenses.

2. W. Browne, "The Second Person Imperative for Learners of SC" (See Appendix B.)
(cf. M. Vlatković, "The Imperative and its Periphrasis", in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, *Reports 5*, Zagreb 1971, pp. 159-172.)

Except for the optional subject, the E imperative cannot be preceded by any sentence element. Only certain sentence-adverbials and conjunctions can precede an imperative. In SC there are no such limitations; all sorts of sentence elements can precede. We can expect learners to be unwilling to use such SC sentences unless specially taught.

SC has two different forms for the negative imperative. One is the positive imperative with the ordinary negation *ne* before it. Once E speakers have learned to use imperfective forms in this construction instead of perfective, they should have no difficulty with it. The other construction is made with *nemoj(te)* followed by the infinitive or by a clause with *da + present*. The *nemoj da + present* construction will have to be specially taught, as *don't* with which *nemoj* will probably be identified cannot be followed by a clause.

3. W. Browne, "Serbo-Croatian Verbs with *se* and Related Problems for English-speaking Learners" (See Appendix C.)

Since only some *se* verbs are strictly speaking reflexive, the title speaks of verbs with *se*, not of reflexive verbs. *Se* verbs show a wide variety of behavior and of lexical and syntactic relations.

One generalization can be made and that is that verbs with *se* never take a direct object in the accusative without a preposition. There are some exceptions and E-speaking learners should be taught both the rules and the exceptions.

Vse, verbs with *se* as an inherent part of the verb (not added by a rule) should be taught as lexical units. It is not always possible to predict from the meaning of a verb whether it is a *Vse* in SC but fortunately enough many *Vse* fall into semantic groups and even show systematic correspondences with English. Most of the SC verbs of psychological reaction with *se* as an inherent part of the verb (e.g. *bojati se*) have their corresponding verbs in E (to fear). As these are almost all archaic in E, adjectives should be given instead as equivalents to the SC verbs (to be frightened, afraid, scared).

In the process of deleting the subject in SC two types of V + *se* constructions can be obtained: *impersonal V + se* construction if the sentence is intransitive (*se* is added to the verb and the verb goes in the 3rd person neuter singular); *passive V + se* construction if the sentence is transitive. The deep-structure object becomes the new subject and the verb agrees with it. This latter construction is used very frequently in subordinate clauses in which E would use an infinitive. We can expect E-speaking learners of SC to try to construct infinitive clauses, or if they have learned the correspondence between E infinitive and SC *da-clause*, to restrict themselves to active *da-clauses*. This means that special attention should be paid to teaching E speakers this construction. In a substandard variant of *passive V + se* construction, the deep object remains the object in the accusative. Since the E-speaker will encounter such constructions frequently he has to be warned that they are not considered standard.

The construction *dati + se + infinitive* differs from normal uses of *dati* "give", from other uses of the SC infinitive, and from the use of the reflexive that the E-speaking learner is accustomed to in his own language. Therefore it will have to be taught as a unit for recognition purposes:

> Ivan se nije dao iznenaditi. =
> "John didn't let himself be surprised."

II Categories of the Noun Phrase

1. W. Browne, "Number Agreement in SC for E-learners"
   (See Appendix D.)
   (Partially based on V. Ivir, "Number Agreement in English and Correspondent Structures in Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, *Reports 4*, Zagreb 1971, pp. 23-49.)

Number agreement will present a serious learning problem for E-speaking learners. The notion of agreement is not totally foreign to them (within English NPs, demonstratives agree with the head and there is also agreement in number between subject NPs and most present-tense verbs, as well as the past of *to be*), but SC number agreement is much more extensive; it affects a greater number of morphological classes, and is usually further complicated by case, gender, and person agreement. Number should be taught step by step from the most obvious cases (formal agreement of verbs and predicates with nominative subjects) to the more complicated ones which do not follow the above pattern.

Special attention should be paid to mass nouns and pluralia tantum for although both languages have the two types of nouns, there is not necessarily noun-for-noun correspondence.

There are some SC nouns with irregular plural formations. They will have to be specially taught but will not cause any trouble in number agreement except for some nouns in -a (*brat*, *braća*) which take plural verbs but have endings as for feminine singulars.

Special attention will have to be paid to collective nouns as no such class exists in E (*cvijet* singular, *cvjetovi* plural, *cvijeće* collective).

2. W. Browne, "Gender in SC for E-speaking Learners" (See Appendix E.)

E and SC have the same three genders: masculine, feminine, neuter. In E masculine and feminine genders are almost completely restricted to animate beings and depend on their true sex. In SC students will have to learn that inanimate nouns have gender too. Fortunately gender in SC associates with a certain type of declension so once they have learned the type of a declension a word belongs to, they will also have learned the gender. As there are some exceptions (ov*a* žen*a*, but ov*aj* vladik*a*) they will have to be specially practiced.

E gender shows up in the choice of an anaphoric pronoun: *he*, *she*, *it*. The plural *they* shows no gender distinction and here we can expect difficulties for E learners as the SC anaphoric pronoun shows gender in the plural. The use of the plural pronouns will be further complicated by the fact that feminine and neuter plurals are under certain conditions replaced by masculine.

As the pronoun-antecedent agreement mentioned above is not the only type of gender agreement in SC, E-learners will probably have difficulties when it comes to the agreement between the head of an NP and its modifiers as well as between subject and predicate.

3. W. Browne, "On Teaching Pronominalization to E-speaking Learners" (See Appendix F.)

(Based on: Ljiljana Mihajlović, "On Differences in Pronominalization in English and Serbocroat", in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, Zagreb 1970, *Studies 2*, pp. 50-59.)

E-speaking learners will have to be specially taught some cases of pronominalization in which SC and E differ considerably. E personal pronoun can stand for a noun only under conditions of identity of reference. When a noun is referred to but the condition of identity of reference is not fulfilled, *one* must be used to replace the noun, (i.e. Ivan has a birthday today, and Marija has *one* /a birthday but not the same one/ tomorrow). In SC personal pronouns are used in both situations and this usage will cause difficulties to E-speakers.

They will also have to be taught that one accompanied by an adjective is usually left out in SC and the adjective is normally put into the definite form.

The conditions for leaving out the personal pronoun object in SC have not been investigated yet, so at this moment no suggestion for the teaching of this usage can be given.

III Word Order

In our project a great deal of work was done in this field, because SC word order is one of the most difficult problems for E-speakers and because the description of word order in existing manuals on SC is far from being satisfactory. Our students comitted errors which mostly fall into two types:

1) They apply E word order to SC sentences i.e. they observe grammatical order: subject + verb + object + adverbials.

2) Being taught from the very beginning that word order in SC is free, they try to depart from grammatical order, thus comitting errors in cases where word order should be fixed or violating rules of informational structure. Our work on word order is far from giving a complete picture of the problem but still a good many helpful suggestions have been given.

1. W. Browne, A. Nakić, "Introduction to Word Order" (See Appendix G.)

This article introduces the basic units of the informational structure of the sentence: theme and rheme. The theme is the starting-point of the communication; an old or known theme is often not stated in full. In a SC sentence the theme typically comes before the rheme; the most important part of the rheme comes last. In English grammatical conditioning of the order of the main sentence elements is much stronger than in SC.

2. W. Browne, "Theme-rheme Structure and Word Order for Learners of SC" (See Appendix H.)

If the object, or the object plus the verb, is the theme of a sentence, E-speakers will have difficulties in producing the correct SC word order. The same is true in a sentence consisting only of subject and verb if the verb is theme. Two cases of this must be distinguished: be denoting existence (E there is, SC ima or biti), in which case E-speakers will correctly postpose the subject; and verbs other than be, in which they will have difficulty in doing so.

3. W. Browne, A. Nakić, "Four Rules for the Position of the Verb" (See Appendix I.)

If the subject in SC is rheme and is put at the end of the sentence, the verb usually moves to come right before it. However, a verb introducing a quotation is at the beginning of its clause if the clause follows the quotation (rather like E: "Bring the ham!" said Ana.) A third rule covers the initial position of the verb which is required when the question marker li is used, and a fourth is a construction used for emphasis in informal speech which requires the order verb-subject at the beginning of the sentence.

4. W. Browne, A. Nakić, "Fixed Word Order in Serbo-Croatian" (See Appendix J.)

In contrast to the order of the major parts of the SC sentence, which changes according to informational structure or other rules, the order within phrases is in general fixed. This paper states the normal order of the parts of noun phrases, adjective phrases, adverb phrases, and prepositional phrases. Some deviations from the normal order are also discussed.

5. A. Nakić, "Word Order", Error Analysis (See Appendix K.)

Direct questions in E undergo inversion of the subject. Our students try to preserve the same pattern in SC, thus violating the rules of informational structure. In other examples the subject is inverted although there is no inversion in E sentences. This cannot be the direct influence of E; they probably learned that the subject could be inverted but don't know yet under what circumstances. Avoiding grammatical order is no guarantee of good SC-word order. We also find examples of the object being put before the verb without justification, and of its being after the verb when it should be before. This last applies mainly to a class of SC words which due to their low inherent prominence avoid final position in the sentence. Besides pronoun objects (nešto, to, etc.), this class also includes certain adverbs (sad, jučer, ovdje, etc.).

6. W. Browne, "Serbo-Croatian Enclitics for English-speaking Learners" (See Appendix L.)

This article gives the main rules for the use of enclitic pronouns and enclitic verb forms in the sentence. Errors in the choice and positioning of the enclitics are one of the most frequent and persistent types in the speech of foreign learners of SC. The basic rule is that they come all together in second position in the sentence; their proper order is also vital. The article illustrates most of its points with actual errors made by our students; it, like most of our studies, is deliberately written in fairly simple terms so as to be clear to teachers (and even students) without special training in linguistics.

IV Conjoining

W. Browne, "Contrastive Patterns in English and SC Conjoining" (See Appendix M.)

In both English and SC, related parts can be left out when elements are joined by a conjunction. In in Berlin, in Moscow, and in Helsinki we can leave out the second and the third in's. In SC, unlike E, it is possible to leave out some of the repeated parts without leaving them all out: U Berlinu, Moskvi i u Helsinkiju. This is an example of a broader difference between E and SC. E syntax insists on the surface syntactic structure meeting certain restrictions, while SC restrictions are more oriented towards the deep structure.

V Clause Structure

1. W. Browne, "Notes on Clauses as Subjects" (See Appendix N.)

(Based on: Z. Grdanički, "Subject Composed of Clause", in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, Reports 5, Zagreb 1971, pp. 40-55.)

E-speaking learners will face several difficulties when translating sentences composed of a main clause and a subject clause. If the subordinate clause precedes, they will have to learn that they cannot put an enclitic after the subordinate clause since it does not count as the first element. If the main clause precedes and has it in the position of the subject, the learners should be warned not to translate it. They will probably have no difficulty with indirect questions functioning as subject clauses, as there is no formal difference between direct and indirect questions in SC.

2. A. Nakić, "Complement Clauses", Error Analysis (See Appendix O.)

Students omit the conjunction da in the same way as they omit that in E. In indirect questions they use ako (=if in conditional clauses) instead of verb + li or da li. This is obviously due to the influence of English if used instead of whether in indirect questions.

3. A. Nakić, "Relative Clauses", Error Analysis (See Appendix P.)

Beginners omit the relative pronoun in SC under the influence of E. If they have learned that it cannot be omitted they will often use the conjunction da (as da in other types of sentences corresponds to that) and some of them even a. At a more advanced stage mistakes will be the result of the wrong choice among SC relative pronouns. Since a certain equivalence can be established between what and što, and who and tko, they will extend the equivalence to those cases where što and tko cannot be used.

VI Lexis

A. Nakić, "Lexical Errors", Error Analysis (See Appendix Q.)

The most frequent types of mistakes are direct translations from E, wrong choices caused by a confusion within SC, and errors in word-formation. Most of the errors could be prevented by good dictionaries and better presentation of the vocabulary by the teacher, who should be aware of the possible sources of interference and confusion.

VII Writing

W. Browne, A. Nakić, "American-English and Serbo-Croatian Handwriting" (See Appendix R.)

Both E and SC use the same letters but the way some letters, figures, and signs are written differs. Some E letters - especially capitals - are totally illegible to the SC reader and this may be especially serious dealing with names because of their low degree of redundancy. The numerals 1 and 7 are well-known trouble-makers

VIII Stress and Intonation

1. W. Browne, "Phrase Stress in SC and E" (See Appendix S.)

Although in both SC and E the general rule for phrase stress is the same i.e. the last word gets the strongest stress, E-learners will have difficulties as the two languages do not agree in all instances of deviation from the general pattern. In E when a noun modifies a noun, the first noun usually gets the main stress. In SC the equivalent construction will probably be adjective + noun. If the learner learns the equivalent correctly, he probably won't have difficulty with the stress either. Some E adjective + noun groups are exceptions to the general pattern, the adjective getting the main stress. In SC equivalents the student will probably make mistakes by using the same pattern as in E.

2. A. Nakić, W. Browne, "The Intonation of Questions in SC and E" (See Appendix T.)

Questions without a question word require a special intonation in SC on the word being asked about: a dip to a very low pitch followed by a high. Such questions in E have a quite different pattern: a rise on and after the questioned word. No equivalent pattern to the SC one exists, and this leads to difficulties for E-speaking students.

Questions with K-words (the SC equivalents of the E wh-words who, what, where, how etc.) have patterns rather similar to E patterns if one of the words in the sentence is emphasized. If no word has special emphasis, the SC question begins with a fairly high pitch, whereas the E question has a low pitch at the beginning and a high pitch only near the end. This difference can lead to misunderstanding in both directions.

5. SUMMARIES OF ERROR ANALYSIS

Most of the papers in EA were written on the basis of the tests that were coming in in between the meetings of the project. The idea was not to wait until we had collected all the tests and then produce the final paper, but to work on errors continuously in order to get further ideas about how EA and Contrastive Analysis should be conducted. For example, the first few papers were written on the basis of Test 1, although only 8 students completed the test. The material was not sufficient to write a complete paper on any of the subjects, but most of our further work had its roots in these first analyses. They helped us to decide which problems should be further tested and worked on.

All the papers had approximately the same pattern: listing of the mistakes, possible sources of the mistakes and recommendation for avoiding them if such could be given.

Those papers which still exist only in tentative form will now be summarized.

I Morphology

1. Nouns

Alternations of a with zero were a frequent source of errors. Students both omit a where it should be present and insert a where it should not. According to the results it seems that alternating a (nepostojano a) should be learned with every separate noun as part of its lexical form. There is no way to predict by the Nominative Case or by the meaning or gender etc. that centar will have centra in the Genitive singular and kotar will have kotara. The same goes for many other problems our students have with nouns: long and short plural forms, nouns with stem extension, nouns of feminine gender ending in a consonant, etc. All these things should be learned with the word and contrastive analysis cannot be very helpful. It can do a little more for the mistakes occurring in the choice between singular-plural nouns and collective nouns (SC cvijet singular, cvjetovi plural, cvijeće collective noun - E flower singular, flowers plural) as well as teaching E-speakers which are mass nouns (SC luk singular, dvije glavice luka - E onion singular, onions plural).

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2. Adjectives

Besides mistakes in alternation of a with zero, and vowel alternations depending on the previous consonant which appear in other categories of words as well, there are some typical for adjectives and these are comparative forms. Again this is not a topic for contrastive analysis. For example, the fact that you cannot say *slablji as our E-speakers do, remains entirely within the scope of SC; it is a confusion between two different ways of forming SC comparatives.

3. Pronouns

It seems that it takes a long time to learn pronoun declensions. Mistakes in different cases appear with some very advanced pupils. The declensions are similar but not identical to the adjective declension. Again we have confusion within SC. The only suggestion we can give is that practicing different forms of pronouns should be done intensively from the very beginning.

4. Verbs

In formation of verbal forms many mistakes occur. They are also very persistent and because of that are a serious problem in teaching and learning SC. The mistakes we found are mostly of 2 types. Students either know one form of the verb and take it as a base for formation of other verbal forms, which is possible in E (except for defective and irregular forms) or they extend the most widespread pattern, which they have learned first, to verbs which do not belong to these patterns.

II Syntax

1. Adjectives

A certain number of mistakes appeared concerning the use of the definite and indefinite forms of the adjective. Before any suggestions for correcting these mistakes can be given, an extensive study on this subject should be made. The present manuals of SC are not very helpful when dealing with definiteness and indefiniteness of adjectives.

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2. Pronouns

Personal pronoun subjects are in some situations omitted in SC. Omission can be obligatory or not. E students did not always omit the pronoun subject when necessary but they also sometimes omitted the pronoun when it should have been expressed. It is quite obvious that these mistakes could be prevented only by giving more precise instructions as to when the omission should occur.

For the oblique cases the rules for the use of the full forms of the personal pronouns should also be formulated as mistakes in using full forms instead of enclitics occurred frequently. Suggestions that full forms should be used only for emphasis will not be very helpful as under some circumstances they occur in SC even without emphasis.

Our students use anaphoric demonstratives as deictic demonstratives and the reverse. It is clear that they had not been taught demonstratives as a system and their relation to the E system of demonstratives.

The emphatic pronoun *sam* was confused with the reflexive pronoun *sebe* probably due to the influence of E where both pronouns have the same form *myself*, *yourself* etc.

Indefinite pronouns. The examples of mistakes we have collected are not very illuminating. Students have a tendency to learn only one translation for a given English indefinite pronoun. The situation is fairly clear with *another* for which we can give the following practical advice: when *another* means the same as *one more*, *an additional one*, say *još jedan*; when it means a *different one*, say *drugi*.

3. Verbs

a) Aspect

Mistakes in aspect are very numerous and very persistent. Perfective verbs were used instead of imperfective and vice versa. Although we found a great number of mistakes, no system of errors could be established. It would be interesting to determine to what extent students know that the form they have chosen is an imperfective or perfective aspect form, and have incorrectly chosen one particular aspect; and how far they are simply taking a verb form they know without even thinking of its aspect. It has not been possible to study this point as yet.

b) Passive

Active constructions appeared in many cases where passive or se passive should have been used. Curiously enough, the corresponding E sentences which the students had to translate were in the passive. E-students are often reminded that passive constructions are more frequent in E than in SC and this may be their reaction to these warnings. Once again we should point out that such general recommendations cannot be helpful to the learner.

c) Sequence of tenses

E-speakers apply E rules of sequence of tenses to SC. They should be simply taught that there are no such rules in SC.

d) Expressing the future

Some mistakes appeared in expressing the future in temporal and purpose clauses. Although SC obeys the same rules as E, i.e. the Present Tense should be used instead of the Future Tense in these clauses, students sometimes use the SC future in them. This is an example of what R. Filipović terms semantic transfer: knowing that the meaning, i.e. the real time referred to, is future, they use the SC future tense to express it. e.g.

> *Kad ćete skrenuti iza ugla vidjet ćete temelj za raketu.
> Kad skrenete za ugao vidjet ćete lansirnu rampu za raketu.
> "When you turn the corner you will see a rocket launching pad."

e) Tenses in conditional clauses

Tenses in conditional clauses seem to be a problem for E-speakers. They should be taught the types of conditional clauses in SC in relation to the E types. An added difficulty within SC is that the conjunction da takes Present or Past Indicative whereas kad takes the Conditional.

f) Reflexive and other verbs with se

There are practically no mistakes in the group of proper reflexive verbs, that is those verbs where se is an object identical to the subject (corresponding to E myself, yourself etc.) What seems to be difficult for E speakers is verbs with se functioning as lexical units and the passive construction where se is added by a rule.

4. Agreement

Mistakes ocurred in all the types of agreement (number, gender, case) and in all situations where agreement occurs, i.e. adjective + noun, noun + apposition, subject + predicate, antecedent + pronoun. For suggestions on how to prevent these mistakes see W. Browne, "Number Agreement in SC for E Learners", "Gender in SC for E-speaking Learners".

5. Government

Students very frequently err in the choice of case (or preposition + case) for the object of a verb or the complement of a noun. Some systematicity can be found in their choice of cases, and of course the use of cases in SC is largely governed by rules and semantic groups. However, it seems essential to list and teach each word with its proper case.

6. Omission of redundant elements and use of full and enclitic forms

Although this topic has been mentioned in the paragraph about pronouns as one difficulty among many others, it was dealt with in a special paper as it seemed to be particularly difficult for E speakers. We investigated omission of personal pronoun subjects, possessive pronouns, the reflexive pronoun se, auxiliary verbs, and the question signal da li. We collected a number of very interesting examples but a full description of this problem is still to be made. For some useful suggestions see W. Browne, "Serbo-Croatian Enclitics for English-speaking Learners", "Contrastive Patterns in English and SC Conjoining".

7. Negative constructions

E-speakers avoid using more than one negation since an E sentence can have only one. Mistakes of this type were expected but there was another type which we did not expect and which cannot be explained either by E or SC direct influence: in some examples ne does not precede the verb but some other element (adjective, adverb). This could be Russian influence or it could be the result of the generalization, usually offered to foreign students, about word order being free in SC. In fact, ne must be before the verb in SC even if the negation applies primarily to some other element in the sentence.

8. Coordinating conjunctions i, a, ali, nego, već

These conjunctions were confused probably because there is no word for word correspondence between E and SC (E and, SC i and a; E but, SC ali, a, nego, već).

9. Subordinating conjunctions

For some reasons students made mistakes when groups of words were functioning as conjunctions: *budući da*, *zato što*, *zbog toga što*, *kao što*, *kao da*, *nego što*. They either left out one word or used non-existent conjunctions as *nego što da*. They also used compound conjunctions which would fit another type of clause, as for example *zbog toga da* "in order to" in a causal clause instead of *zbog toga što* "because".

6. CONCLUSION

Contrastive analysis and error analysis resulted in several findings.

A. Interference of English in the Serbo-Croatian of learners.

B. Sources and causes of errors which can be eliminated by means of a specially designed system of teaching consisting of both oral and written material.

Through tests a good collection of materials was compiled which can serve writers of textbooks or handbooks of Serbo-Croatian. The results achieved by this project, however modest they may look, represent a nucleus for further research and further extension of this project. Obviously, an 18-month period is not long enough for the completion of such research; its results, however, will serve as the basis for further work and further investigations.

Work on E-SC contrastive studies will continue even after the end of OE support. In fall 1974 The Institute of Linguistics is planning to publish a volume containing the papers written for the present project as well as some others. This will be No. 1 in a series dedicated to SC and problems of teaching it, paralleling the existing series devoted to contrastive analysis with E as target language.

Although this project was conceived as a continuation of the YSCECP and therefore was given a limited amount of funds and time, it became obvious in the course of work that it should be carried on as an independent project which will discuss many new questions typical for contrastive analysis of English and SC. The system of Serbo-Croatian, when approached as a target language, offers a lot of problems which were not identified when it was dealt with as a source language.

Therefore it is highly desirable that the research be continued. It is hoped that funds and researchers will be found to complete this project and to achieve completely its aims mentioned above.

Zagreb, July 23, 1974.

R. Filipović

1.

Contract No. OEC-0-71-3761

APPENDIX A

Tests Used (With Solutions)

Test 1

Translate (you may use a dictionary):

1. The office of Lieutenant Carling: cold and dark, a typical room for the head of a small police station. Sitting on the only desk in the room is Sergeant Prunchink. He is looking into a folder and paying no attention to Nick, the only other person in the room. Nick is standing at a window. The door opens. Lieutenant Carling enters.
   Carling: Where were you last night? Nick! I'm asking you a question!
   Nick: Ask your wife. *She*'ll tell you!
   Carling: Nick, we'd like you to tell us what you did last night.
   Nick: I told you, I was home.

   Lieutenant: poručnik. Sergeant: narednik. station: stanica

2. The plays in this book were written over a period of seven and a half years. Therefore a few words about them and their chronology might be helpful. "The Questioning of Nick" is the first play I ever wrote, and is included, not because of that fact, but because I am still pleased with its effect. Moreover, it is, up until now, the only realistic play I have written. So, for those people who say to me, "But when are you going to write a *real* play?" -- here it is. (I assume that a "real" play is a realistic play.)

   play: komad. questioning: saslušavanje. effect: uspjeh. realistic: realistički. assume: pretpostavljati.

3. How did I write? Behind this question, besides curiosity, there is something else hidden too. The one who asked the question wants to become a writer himself. Have I guessed right? He is thinking like this: if a writer tells me how he writes, I will imitate him and become another Cankar. It doesn't go so simply. If the literary craft could be learned like any other craft, we would open schools for new writers. In a few years we would have them in great quantities.

   curiosity: radoznalost. hide: kriti, krijem. Writer: pisac. guess right: pogoditi. imitate: podražavati. literary: književni. craft: zanat. quantity: količina.

Write 1 or 2 paragraphs (about 10 sentences) about each of the following: (Dictionaries may be used.)
1. What I will do after I return from Yugoslavia (Što ću raditi nakon povratka iz Jugoslavije). 2. My difficulties in Zagreb (Moje poteškoće u Zagrebu). 3. Which language is the hardest, and why? (Koji je jezik najteži, i zašto?)

Test 2

Translate (you may use a dictionary):

1. What color are city busses in Yugoslavia? Zagreb busses are blue, and Sarajevo busses are green or red.
2. "When you were at Ivan's, did you tell him that you were going to Ljubljana tomorrow?"
   "Yes, I did but I think he knew it already."
   "I have one more thing to ask you. Do you have Dora's newspaper? She has been looking for it for two days and two nights."
   "Yes, I have it. I'll give it to her when I see her."
   "Fine. She's probably at the Student Center with some of the foreign students. She often goes to the Center after lunch."
3. Watch out, little Marko is putting your scissors in his mouth! I think you should take them away from him.
4. Before the famous critic Leslie Fiedler was arrested, he wrote a book about love and death in the American novel. It is truly a masterpiece of literary criticism.
5. Do you know Ivan and Dora? He is 1 meter and 7o centimeters tall, and she is almost two meters. Ivan had a birthday five weeks ago, and Dora has one tomorrow. So they have invited a lot of friends and acquaintances to lunch. They live in the center of Zagreb, on Nazorova St., but I can't remember their house number.
6. My acquaintances from Beograd were here last week. I made them some coffee, but I don't know if they liked it.
7. Linguistics will always be important. But it is obvious that wisdom is more important.
8. My teacher said that most people love flowers, especially in the United States. Do you think that's so? Some of the people who I asked didn't agree.
9. Could you buy me some bread? I need a little salt too.
10. We have a yellow hen and two white geese and some black sheep in the field which is behind the house.

critic: kritičar. arrest: uhapsiti. novel: roman. masterpiece: remek-djelo. criticism: kritika. obvious: očigledno. wisdom: mudrost. especially: naročito. goose: guska. sheep: ovca.

Test 2 - SOLUTION

1. Koje su boje (Kakve su boje) gradski autobusi u Jugoslaviji? Zagrebački su autobusi (Zagrebački autobusi su) plavi, a sarajevski (su) zeleni ili crveni.
2. Kad si bio kod Ivana, jesi li mu rekao da ideš sutra u Ljubljanu? Da, jesam, ali mislim da je (to) već znao. Da te pitam još nešto. Imaš li (ti) Dorine novine? (Da li (ti) imaš Dorine novine?) Ona ih traži (Traži ih) već dva dana i dvije noći. Da, imam ih. Dat ću joj ih kad je vidim. Odlično. Ona je vjerojatno u Studentskom centru s nekim stranim studentima. Ona često ide u Centar poslije ručka.[1]
3. Pazi! Mali Marko stavlja tvoje škare u usta. Mislim da bi mu ih trebao (od)uzeti.
4. Prije nego što je čuveni kritičar Leslie Fiedler bio uhapšen, napisao je knjigu o ljubavi i smrti u američkom romanu. (Prije nego što je bio uhapšen, slavni kritičar L.F. napisao je knjigu...) To je zaista remek-djelo književne kritike.
5. Poznaješ (Znaš) li Ivana i Doru? (Da li poznaješ/znaš..) On je visok metar i sedamdeset (centimetara), a ona skoro (gotovo) dva metra. Ivan je imao rodjendan pred (prije) pet tjedana, a Dora ga ima sutra, pa su zato pozvali mnogo prijatelja i znanaca (poznanika) na ručak. Oni žive (stanuju) (žive) u centru Zagreba, u Nazorovoj (ulici), ali se ne mogu sjetiti njihovog kućnog broja.
6. Prošlog tjedna bili su ovdje moji poznanici (znanci) iz Beograda. Skuhao sam im kavu ali ne znam da li im je prijala (da li im se svidjela).
7. Lingvistika će uvijek biti važna. Ali je jasno da je mudrost važnija.
8. Moj učitelj je rekao (kaže) da većina ljudi voli cvijeće, naročito u Sjedinjenim državama. Misliš li (Da li misliš) da je to istina? Neki od onih koje sam pitao ne slažu se (nisu se složili).
9. Možeš li mi kupiti kruha? Trebam (Treba mi) i malo soli.
10. U polju iza kuće imamo žutu kokoš, dvije bijele guske i nekoliko crnih ovaca (u polju koje je iza kuće).

These are only suggested translations; others may be equally good.

---

[1] Or: Da li su kod tebe Dorine novine?... Da, kod mene su.

Test 3

Translate (you may use a dictionary):

1. They asked me to play football with them.
2. I began to look for an apartment last week, and I won't stop looking until I find one.
3. I gave the book not to Marija but to Zora.
4. I never see him any more. In a year or two he will have forgotten me entirely.
5. If I had my violin here, I'd play you a sonata right now.
6. I'm sorry Peter didn't come yesterday. If he had come, I would have taken him to the opera. But if he comes this evening, he can still see the new ballet.
7. "I don't like to write sketches."
"I don't like to write sketches either."
8. I will read the newspapers every day to get clearer picture of life in Zagreb.
9. He wrote me that he was going to come next Tuesday, so I phoned him and said we'd be out of town.
10. He keeps buying them expensive presents. What is he going to do when he's spent all his money?
11. We won't go to the lake by bus--we'll go by car.
12. He had to study for five years in order to become a doctor.

Put into indirect discourse (e.g. Peter said to John that he couldn't...):

Ivane, ne mogu naći nigdje Dorine novine. Ona će sutra doći po njih. Već sam joj ih obećao. Jesi li ih vidio? Onda mi ih donesi.

Make into yes-no questions (e,g. Does this plane fly...?):

Ovaj avion leti za Beograd.
Šah mu je najveća strast.
On mu ju je preporučio.
Dat ćemo im po jednu knjigu.
Ivan se bojao mraka.
Ana bi ga rado vidjela.

Make questions referring to each part of this sentence (e.g. Who writes...? What kind of letter does...?):

Petar svaki dan piše Pavlu dugačka pisma crvenom olovkom za okruglim stolom.

Test 3 - SOLUTION

1. Zamolili su me da igram s njima nogomet.
2. Počeo sam tražiti stan prošlog tjedna, i neću (neću ga) prestati tražiti (sve) dok ga ne nadjem.
3. Nisam dao knjigu Mariji nego Zori (već Zori).
4. Više ga uopće ne vidjam. Za godinu-dvije sasvim (potpuno) će me zaboraviti.
5. Da imam ovdje svoju violinu, sad bih ti (odmah bih ti) odsvirao jednu sonatu. Kad bih ovdje imao svoju violinu, sad bih ti...
6. Žao mi je što Petar nije jučer došao. Da je došao, poveo bih ga (bio bih ga poveo) na operu (u kazalište). Ali ako dodje večeras, još uvijek može vidjeti novi balet.
7. Ne volim pisati skečeve.--Ni ja ne volim pisati skečeve.
8. Čitat ću novine svaki dan (svakog dana) da bih dobio jasniju sliku života u Zagrebu.
9. Pisao mi je da će doći slijedećeg utorka (idućeg utorka), pa sam mu telefonirao i rekao da nećemo biti u gradu.
10. Stalno im kupuje skupe poklone. Što će raditi (uraditi, učiniti) kad potroši sav svoj novac?
11. Nećemo ići na jezero autobusom, ići ćemo autom (kolima).
12. Morao je studirati pet godina da bi postao liječnik(om).

Petar je rekao Ivanu, da nigdje (kako nigdje) ne može naći Dorine novine. Petar je rekao Ivanu, da će ona sutra doći po njih. Petar je rekao Ivanu, da joj ih je (on) već obećao. Petar je upitao (pitao) Ivana, je li ih (da li ih je) vidio. Petar je zamolio Ivana (rekao Ivanu) da mu ih donese.

Da li ovaj avion leti za Beograd?	Leti li ovaj avion za B.?
Da li mu je šah najveća strast?	Je li mu šah najveća strast?
Da li mu ju je on preporučio?	Je li mu je on preporučio?
Da li ćemo im dati po jednu knjigu?	Hoćemo li im dati po jednu knjigu?
Da li se Ivan bojao mraka?	Je li se I. bojao mraka?
Da li bi ga Ana rado vidjela?	Bi li ga A. rado vidjela?

Tko svaki dan piše Pavlu dugačka pisma...? Kome svaki dan Petar piše dugačka pisma...? Kakva pisma Petar svaki dan piše Pavlu...? Kako često Petar piše Pavlu...? Što Petar svaki dan piše...? Što radi Petar svaki dan? Čime Petar svaki dan piše Pavlu...? Kakvom olovkom Petar svaki dan piše Pavlu...? (Koje boje je olovka kojom Petar piše...?) Za kakvim stolom Petar svaki dan piše Pavlu...? Gdje sjedi Petar kad piše Pavlu...?

Test 4

Translate:

1. Belgrade restaurants are more expensive but more interesting than Zagreb ones.
2. Ana's sister and Marija Marković's son gave us some books yesterday.
3. Friends, if you don't speak Croatian yet, speak English. We understand English too. And if you don't write Croatian well, write English. But we'd like Croatian better.
4. Damir has a house in Novi Sad with a big garden. We'll see him tomorrow. Would you like to see him too?
5. Excuse me. I am a student of French history. I'd like to ask you something.

Test 4 - SOLUTION

1. Beogradski su restorani skuplji ali (ali i) interesantniji (zanimljiviji) od zagrebačkih (nego zagrebački).
2. Anina sestra i sin Marije Marković dali su nam jučer neke knjige. Jučer su nam Anina sestra i sin Marije Marković dali neke knjige.
3. Prijatelji, ako još ne govorite hrvatski, govorite engleski. Mi razumijemo i engleski (takodjer). A ako ne pišete dobro hrvatski, pišite engleski (na engleskom). (A ako ne znate dobro pisati hrvatski...) Ali (No) mi bismo više voljeli hrvatski. (Bilo bi nam draže da pišete na hrvatskom.)
4. Damir ima u Novom Sadu kuću s velikim vrtom. (U Novom Sadu Damir ima kuću s velikim vrtom. Damir ima kuću s velikim vrtom u Novom Sadu. Damir ima kuću u Novom Sadu, s velikim vrtom.) Mi ćemo ga sutra vidjeti. (Sutra ćemo ga vidjeti. Vidjet ćemo ga sutra.) Da li biste ga i Vi željeli (htjeli) vidjeti? (Biste li ga i Vi...)
5. Molim Vas. } Ja studiram francusku povijest (historiju).
   Oprostite. } Ja sam student francuske povijesti (historije).
   Izvinite. }
   Htio (Želio) bih Vas nešto pitati (upitati).

Test 5

Translate:

1. In this course we won't write compositions about spring and autumn.
2. The former colonies won complete independence only in the 2oth century.
3. I cook with oil, not with lard.
4. She always climbs up on the table when she sees a spider.
5. These two students were exceptionally hard-working.
6. I needed the first two books, but I couldn't buy them anywhere.
7. I walked by the church. I could see there was a wedding, but I don't know who was marrying whom.
8. Both rules were important to them.
9. A traffic accident took place yesterday in which several people were wounded.

Test 5 - SOLUTION

1. Na ovom tečaju nećemo pisati sastave o proljeću i jeseni.
2. Bivše kolonije su stekle potpunu nezavisnost tek u
   stekle su punu
   su izborile
   izborile su
   dvadesetom stoljeću.
   2o.
3. Kuham na ulju, a ne na masti.
   ne na masti.
4. Kad god vidi pauka, ona se popne (penje) na stol.
   Kad ugleda uvijek se popne (penje)
   Čim
5. Ova dva studenta su bila izuzetno marljiva.
   Ova su dva studenta bila naročito
   Ova dva studenta bila su posebno
6. Trebale su mi prve dvije knjige, ali ih nigdje nisam
   Trebao sam nisam nigdje
   nisam mogao

   mogao kupiti.
   mogao kupiti.
   nigdje kupiti.
7. Prolazio sam pored crkve. Vidio sam da je (unutra)
   Prošao (po)kraj
   Šetao uz crkvu

   (neko) vjenčanje, ali ne znam tko se s kim ženio/vjenčavao/.
   kime vjenčao.
   tko se ženio.
8. Oba pravila su im bila važna.
   Oba su im pravila
   Oba pravila su (Oba su pravila) bila važna za njih.
   za njih bila važna.
9. Jučer se dogodila saobraćajna nesreća u kojoj je
   se desila prometna
   je došlo do ....ne nesreće

   nekoliko osoba (bilo) ranjeno.
   ljudi ozlijedjeno.
   povrijedjeno.

   (bilo) ranjeno nekoliko osoba.
   ozlijedjeno ljudi.
   povrijedjeno

Test 6

Translate:

1. Ivan told us he was going to the Gradski Podrum for supper today. 2. When he comes back from supper at the Gradski Podrum, we'll greet him with a bottle of champagne. 3. If he doesn't come, we'll open it ourselves, drink the champagne, and leave him the empty bottle.
4. I hope he won't be mad. 5. After all, he could have come on time.
6. Don't come back until you have washed the windows.
7. I've had enough of your loafing. 8. Recently you have been neglecting your duties too much.
9. The use of verb tenses is a difficult and involved question. lo. At the market we bought a kilo of apples, two kilos of pears, a kilo of oranges, five eggs, and a bunch of violets.

Test 6 - SOLUTION

1. Ivan nam je rekao da danas ide (da će danas ići) u Gradski podrum na večeru (na večeru u Gradski podrum).
2. Kad se vrati s večere u Gradskom podrumu, dočekat ćemo ga s bocom (flašom) šampanjca.
3. Ako ne dodje, otvorit ćemo je sami (sami ćemo je otvoriti), popiti/ispiti (popit ćemo) šampanjac i ostaviti mu (ostavit ćemo mu) praznu bocu.
4. Nadam se da se neće ljutiti (naljutiti).
5. Konačno (Na kraju krajeva, Na koncu konca), mogao je doći na vrijeme.
6. Ne vraćaj se (Nemoj se vraćati/vratiti) dok ne opereš prozore (prije nego opereš, dok nisi oprao prozore)!
7. Dosta mi je tvog ljenčarenja (zabušavanja, dangubljenja).
8. U posljednje vrijeme (u zadnje vrijeme) previše (suviše) zanemaruješ svoje dužnosti.
9. Upotreba glagolskih vremena je teško (teško je) i složeno (komplicirano, zamršeno, zapleteno) pitanje.
10. Kupili smo na tržnici (Na tržnici smo kupili) kilu (kilo) jabuka, dvije kile (dva kilograma) krušaka, kilu naranči (naranača, naranča, narandži, narandža), pet jaja i stručak (kiticu) ljubica (ljubičica).

Test 7

Translate:

1. He sat down on a chair whose leg was damaged.
2. I saw something there that I liked very much.
3. I have a friend who lives in London.
4. Do you remember the person you got this book from?
5. He had a coat on which was much too big for him.
6. Here is the lady whose bag was just stolen.
7. That's the (best thing) you could have done.
8. He didn't understand a word of what I told him.
9. The shop the owner of which is our neighbor is always full of people.
10. They said the train would be late, which seems very likely.
11. What makes me angriest is that John is always late.
12. The people he stayed with in London are coming to Zagreb tomorrow.
13. Is that book you're reading a detective story?
14. I don't like the house they live in.
15. Introduce me to that man who is sitting there in the corner.
16. What's the name of the man whose wife died recently?
17. I want to go to the country the language of which I'm now studying in school.
18. Mr. Johnson, who(m) you will meet this evening, is a well-known professor of German literature.

Test 7 - SOLUTION

1. Sjeo je na stolicu čija (kojoj, koje) je noga bila oštećena.
2. Vidio sam tamo nešto (Tamo sam vidio nešto, Tamo sam nešto vidio) što mi se jako (veoma) dopalo (svidjelo).
3. Imam prijatelja koji živi u Londonu.
4. Da li se sjećaš (sjećaš li se) osobe od koje si (čovjeka od kojega si) dobio (uzeo) ovu knjigu?
5. Imao je na sebi (nosio je) kaput koji mu je bio mnogo (puno) prevelik.
6. Evo gospodje čija je torba upravo ukradena (čiju su torbu upravo ukrali, kojoj su upravo ukrali torbu).
7. To je najbolje što si mogao učiniti.
8. Nije razumio ni riječi (riječ) od onog(a) što sam mu rekao.
9. Dućan čiji (kojeg) je vlasnik naš susjed uvijek je pun ljudi.
10. Rekli su mi da će vlak (za)kasniti (imati zakašnjenje), što izgleda vrlo vjerojatno.
11. Ono što me najviše ljuti jest (je) da Ivan uvijek kasni (zakašnjava). (Najviše me ljuti(to) što Ivan...)
12. Ljudi kod kojih je stanovao u Londonu dolaze sutra u Zagreb.
13. Da li je (Je li) (ta, ona) knjiga koju čitaš detektivski roman (kriminalni roman, "krimić")?
14. Ne dopada (svidja) mi se kuća u kojoj stanuju (žive).
15. Predstavi me onom čovjeku (Upoznaj me s onim čovjekom) koji sjedi tamo u kutu (uglu).
16. Kako se zove (taj, onaj) čovjek čija (kome, komu, kojem, kojemu) je žena nedavno umrla (nedavno umrla žena)?
17. Želio bih (Želim, htio bih) (ot)ići u zemlju čiji jezik (koje jezik) sada učim u školi.
18. G. Johnson, koga (kojeg) ćeš večeras upoznati, poznati je (jest poznati) profesor njemačke književnosti.
je

Test 8

Translate:

19. What kind of music is that you're listening to?
2o. That happened on a big river whose name I can't remember.
21. What you're trying to sell me isn't even worth 5 pounds.
22. The Dutch grow the most beautiful tulips I've ever seen.
23. If you had to eat what Ana cooks you'd get thin fast.
24. The ties your husband wears must be very expensive.
25. They were almost an hour late, which was to be expected.
26. You can take everything you like.
27. Marija, whose husband is in America, always travels alone.
28. Our neighbour, who works for an American company, left for New York yesterday.
29. That's the boy whose mother was run over by a car.
3o. The woman who is just going into the house lives on the floor above us.
31. The only people I could talk to were some Frenchmen.
32. What they showed you is only a small part of their library.
33. Whatever you want will be yours.
34. Whoever tells you that is not telling the truth.
35. Wherever you go, he will follow you.

Test 8 - SOLUTION

19. Kakva je to muzika (glazba)koju slušaš? Kakvu to muziku (glazbu) slušaš?
2o. To se dogodilo (desilo) na (jednoj, nekoj) velikoj rijeci čijeg (kojoj) se imena (imena koje se) ne mogu sjetiti (ne sjećam).
21. To (Ono) što mi pokušavaš prodati ne vrijedi (nije vrijedno) ni pet funti.
22. Holandjani (Nizozemci, Holandezi) uzgajaju najljepše tulipane koje sam (što sam (ih)) ikada vidio.
23. Da moraš jesti (Kad bi morao jesti) (ono) što Ana (s)kuha, brzo bi smršavio (smršao).
24, Kravate koje Vaš muž nosi (nosi Vaš muž) mora da su veoma (vrlo, jako) skupe.
25. Zakasnili su gotovo (skoro) (jedan) cijeli (čitav) sat, što se moglo i očekivati ("što je bilo i za očekivati").
26. Možeš uzeti (Uzmi) sve što želiš (hoćeš, ti se svidja).
27. Marija, čiji (kojoj, koje) je muž u Americi, uvijek putuje sama (sama putuje).
28. Naš susjed, koji radi za (jednu) američku kompaniju. (firmu) ((jedno) američko poduzeće), otputovao je jučer u N.Y. (jučer je otputovao u N.Y.).
29. To je (onaj) dječak (dečko) čiju (kome) je majku pregazio auto (auto pregazio majku) (čiju su majku pregazila kola).
3o. (Ona) žena koja upravo ide (ulazi) u kuću živi (stanuje) na katu ((jedan) kat) iznad nas.
31. Jedini (ljudi) s kojima sam mogao razgovarati bili su neki Francuzi.
32. Ono (to) što su ti pokazali samo (tek) je (je samo) mali dio njihove knjižnice (biblioteke).
33. Što god hoćeš (želiš, zaželiš) bit će tvoje.
34. Tko god ti to (Tko ti god to) kaže, laže (ne govori istinu).
35. Kuda god kreneš (Kamo god ideš, Kuda god pošao, Kamo god išao) on će te slijediti (pratiti).

Test 9

Translate:

I met an old school friend of mine in the store yesterday. I hadn't seen her for 10 years. She told me she had studied mathematics and spent some time in Paris, and was now working in a scientific institute. She said she was very happy and that she'd learned a lot by watching the other people in the institute work. She's working with some specialists on a project which is supposed to be finished by the end of August, so she won't be able to visit her parents, whom she usually visits in the summer.

I asked her if she ever sees anybody from our class, since I never get together with any of them. We arranged that we'd try to organize a meeting of our class, if not before, then at least next year for the 15th anniversary of our graduation.

Test lo

Rearrange the words to form the sentences of a continuous text.

Kino-klub "Slavica" u Pitomači

(dana, jednog, kino-kamera, Pitomači, pojavila, prvi, put, se, 1957., u, zimskog).

(dana, filmsku, je, Mirko Lauš, nastavnik, prvu, reportažu, selu, snimio, tog, tom, u).

(Armije, Dana, je, ona, prikazivala, proslavu).

(kad, mnogi, na, Pitomače, projekciji, same, sebe, stanovnici, su, vidjeli), (bilo, čudjenju, i, iznenadjenju, kraja, nije).

(bi, danas, 12, godina, isti, i, iznenadili, ljudi, nakon, se, ti, začudili), (bi, brojnih, čuli, da, festivala, kad, kino-amateri, na, nagradu, nekom, nisu, njihovi, od, osvojili).

(amaterskim, da, djece, filmovima, i, navikli, njihovim, o, slušaju, su, svoje, tako, uspjesima).

Contract No. OEC-0-71-3761

APPENDIX B

TEACHING SC EQUIVALENTS TO E MODALS

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TEACHING SC EQUIVALENTS TO E MODALS

(Based on: D. Kalogjera, "Ten English Modals and Their Equivalents in Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, Reports 3, Zagreb 1970, pp. 62-87.)

Defectiveness

E modals lack some inflections and grammatical forms, e. g. *to can, *maying. These are supplied from synonymous verbs or expressions: to be able to, being permitted to. To avoid giving the impression that SC verbs corresponding to modals are also defective, it is important to give these synonyms, and not only the modals, as equivalents to the SC verbs: morati should be glossed not only must but also have to, moći = can and be able to, etc. And the learner should practice using the SC verbs in all tenses: Jučer sam morao, sutra ću moći, etc.

Sequence of tenses

As soon as they start making subordinate clauses with da for indirect discourse, learners of SC must be taught that there is no sequence of tenses in SC: verbs keep their original tenses and do not shift to a past tense when dependent on a main clause in the past tense. Sequence of tenses applies to all verbs in E: modals and non-modals. It changes non-modal verbs into their past tenses; E speakers are reasonably aware of the nature of this change, and should be able to restore the original present form without much difficulty when formulating SC sentences. When the sequence-of-tenses rule applies to modals, however, it gives what the E speaker feels to be entirely new words: will ('ll) becomes would ('d), can turns to could, shall to would or should. Since each of the resulting forms has other uses in which it is not felt to be a past tense (would as a conditional marker or as a softened form of will = SC bih, should in the meaning of ought to = treba, could as a softened can = mogao bih), the E speaker will not find it easy to reconstruct the original present form in making SC sentences. We can expect him, under the influence of the usual equivalence would = bih, to report

(1) Doći ću do petka. "I will come by Friday."

on the model of

(2) He said he would come by Friday.

thus giving

(3) Rekao je da bi došao do petka.

instead of the correct

(4) Rekao je da će doći do petka.

Sentence (3) is of course a possible SC sentence, but it reports

(5) Ja bih došao do petka.

which means "I would come by Friday (if...)" or "I would like to come by Friday". *Would* coming from *will* by sequence of tenses, then, can cause misunderstandings, and is furthermore frequently met with. It demands special attention and practice.

Could from *can* will be a less serious problem, since the equivalents which the student has available for *could* (*mogao bih*, *mogao sam*) are still forms of *moći*, and it is an easy step back to the present of *moći*. *Should* from *shall* will be a problem only to Englishmen, since Americans and E speakers from other regions know *shall*, if at all, only as a schoolbook form which would never interfere with their learning of other languages. (The only exception to this statement is *shall* in first-person questions; see below.)

Offers with *shall*.

First-person questions making an offer can use *shall*, *should* in E:

(1) Shall I (should I) open the window?

The usual SC equivalent

(2) Da otvorim prozor?, Da li da otvorim prozor?

should probably be taught specially, although it falls under the more general head of *da* + present for wishes:

(3) Da vidim. "Let me have a look."

Da krenemo. "Let's get started."

Will.

The main use of this modal in E is to make the future tense. The SC correspondent is *ću*, *ćeš...* with the infinitive. Not much difficulty should be expected at an early stage, except for the obligatory contraction when the clitic forms *ću*, *ćeš* follow infinitives in *-ti*: čitati + ću = čitat ću (čitaću). One special feature of SC is the frequent use of *sad* as a prop-word to hang the clitic on, particularly when there is no infinitive in the sentence: *Sad ću*. "Right away." Much of Kalogjera's discussion of *will* and *htjeti* (p. 65ff) is applicable without change to problems of teaching SC. But one should distinguish between *ću* (strong form *hoću*, *hoćeš...*, negative *neću*, *nećeš...*) "will" and *htjeti*, *hoću*, *hoćeš* (negative *neću*, *nećeš*), *htio*, *htjela*,... "want". The first typically takes an infinitive, although it is also found with *da* + present, particularly in Serbian usage but also in Croatian literature. The second is frequently found with *da* + present as an alternative to the infinitive: *Nije htio da sluša* "He didn't want to listen". The *da*-construction seems to be required after the negated present: *Neće da sluša* "He doesn't want to listen". Cf. the future: *Neće slušati* "He won't, isn't going to listen".

Some speakers find a consistent difference between the infinitive and *da*-complements with other SC "modal" verbs as well. Cf.

(1) On može ići.
(2) On može da ide.

(Sentences and interpretations from M. Ivić.) (1) means permission, "I allow him to go": the possibility comes from outside the subject, on. (2) has two meanings. The first is the same as (1), while the second is "on je u stanju da ide", "he is able to go": the possibility is due to some fact about the subject himself. Similarly,

(3) On sme pušiti. "He is allowed to smoke."
(4) On sme da puši. "He is allowed to smoke."
"He dares to smoke (usudjuje se da puši)."

Such differences should be studied for different verbs and in different regions (variants). Croatian speakers say e.g. that (4) cannot have the second meaning.

Would.

A learner of SC can safely set up the equation *would* = bih, since *would* is used for conditionals, to express past habitual action, and in softened statements, all like *bih*. But *bih* is used in some other situations as well, which must all be taught:

a) in the *if*-clauses of conditional sentences:
Kad bi imao novaca, dao bi ti.

"If he had money, he'd give you some."

b) to express wishes (even in main clauses):
Nešto bih Vas pitao. "I'd like to ask you something."

c) in strenghtened purpose clauses:
Da bih (Kako bih) saznao istinu, obrátio sam se lično njemu.

"In order to (Wanting to) find out the truth, I went to him personally."

d) in many more softened statements than exist in E:

Imao bih jedno pitanje za Vas.

"I have a question to ask you, if I may."

Can, *could*, *may*, *might*.

It is important to separate out the various uses of these modals for the E speaker, since SC has quite different constructions for different uses. Ability is generally expressed by *moći*, although *biti u stanju* also exists.

Possibility in SC (E *can*, *may*) is usually indicated by a sentence modifier (*možda*) or a superordinate clause (*moguće je da*. . .), this is parallel to the use of *bit će da*. . . as a superordinate clause to indicate probability and *mora da*. . . to denote inference.

Permission is most often *moći*, although *smjeti* is less ambiguous. It should be specially noted that *ne smjeti* "not to have permission" is equivalent to E "mustn't" as well as "can't" and one use of "may not".

It is very important to distinguish between *ne smjeti* and *ne morati*, which means "not to have to, need not", i. e. lack of necessity. The E use of *mustn't* to mean "not to have permission" will lead the student to try to use *ne morati* in this latter way too.

Contract No. OEC-0-71-3761

APPENDIX C

THE SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE FOR LEARNERS OF SC

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THE SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE FOR LEARNERS OF SC

(cf. M. Vlatković, "The Imperative and its Periphrasis", in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, Zagreb 1971, Reports 5, pp. 159-172.)

The second-person imperative in SC should not be difficult for the E-speaking learner. Most of the differences beween the imperative constructions of the two languages are connected with features of the SC verb system as a whole, and should be no harder to master in the imperative than elsewhere. Examples are the distinction of 2nd person sg. and pl. for familiar and polite address to one person, or the existence of perfective and imperfective aspects. However, some of the differences are specific to the imperative and contrastively interesting.

In E, the 2nd person pronoun subject of the imperative is normally left out:

(1) Wash the dishes.

If the subject is used, it comes in the normal position for subjects:

(2) You wash the dishes!

(This statement is true only for the positive imperative. We will discuss the subjects of negative imperatives later on.) The use of the subject can convey contrast with another subject:

(3) You wash the dishes, and I'll dry.
- No, you wash them.
I did them last time.

or emphasis on the action desired:

(4) You wash the dishes! Stop reading that stupid magazine.

Unlike other verb forms, the E imperative never comes before its subject:

(5) *Wash you the dishes.

In SC, too, the imperative's subject is most often left out. But it can be put in for contrast with another noun phrase, just like personal pronoun subjects with other verb forms. It can some either before or, even more commonly, after the verb:

(3SC) a. Ti operi sudje, a ja ću brisati.
b. Ne, operi ti. Ja sam oprao prošli put.

We can expect E-speakers to have difficulty mastering pattern (b) because of its lack of E correspondent.

SC does not seem to use the subject pronouns as readily as E does to emphasize the whole action: (4) is rendered

(4SC) Operi sudje! Prestani čitati taj glupi časopis!

This difference might be a minor problem for learners.

Except for the optional subject, the E imperative cannot be preceded by any sentence element, including adverbials modifying the verb. Compare:

(6) a. *Immediately wash the dishes. "Odmah operi sudje!"
b. Wash the dishes immediately.
a'. He immediately washed the dishes. .
b'. He washed the dishes immediately.

Only certain sentence-adverbials and conjunctions can precede an imperative :

(7) Please wash the dishes.
Seriously, wash the dishes.

(Compare *Wash the dishes now*. "Operi sudje sada!" with *Now wash the dishes*. "Operi sudje kad ti kažem!"; the *now* which comes at the end is an adverb of time, while the one that can be put at the beginning is a sentence-adverbial or conjunction.)

In SC there are no such limitations on what can precede the imperative in the sentence. Cf.

(8) a. Odmah operi sudje!
"Wash the dishes immediately."
b. Odmah ga pošalji!
"Send him at once."
c. Ovo mi dajte!
"Give me this one."
d. Vrećicu uzmi palcem i kažiprstom...
"Hold the bag between your thumb and your index finger... (in writing: Hold bag between thumb and index finger...)"

We can expect learners to be unwilling to use such SC sentences. Even when they observe the possibility of preposing sentence-elements, they are likely to consider the imperative as the "real" first element; if they have succeeded in internalizing the rule that enclitics come after the first element, they will be tempted to say

*Odmah pošalji ga!
*Ovo dajte mi!

The negated imperative has special characteristics in both languages. In E, the auxiliary *don't* or *do not* is used, even before the verb *be* which does not otherwise form its negative with *don't.* If the subject is expressed, it must come between the contracted form *don't* and the verb:

(9) a. Don't you touch that switch!
b. *You don't touch that switch!
c. *Do not you...
d. *Do you not...

SC has two different forms for the negative imperative. One is the positive imperative with the ordinary negation *ne* before it:

(10) Ne diraj prekidač!

Learners, once they are used to negating verbs with *ne*, should have no difficulty in making this construction. However, it requires imperfective verbs instead of perfective, except in some expressions of warning[1]; learners will therefore have to practice examples like

(11) Napiši mi pismo! Ne piši mi pismo!
"Write me a letter. Don't write me a letter."
Uzmi krušku! Ne uzimaj krušku!
"Take a pear. Don't take a pear."
Posudi mu olovku! Ne posudjuj mu olovku!
"Lend him a pencil. Don't lend him a pencil."

The other construction is made with *nemoj(te)* followed by the infinitive:

(12) Nemoj vikati! Nemoj uzeti krušku!
"Don't shout. Don't take a pear."

or especially in the Eastern variant,

(13) Nemoj da vičeš! Nemoj da uzmeš krušku!

i.e. a clause with *da* + *prezent*. As the examples show, this construction accepts either aspect. The semantic difference between *ne* + imperative and *nemoj* + inf. (or clause) has not been well studied. One syntactic difference (in addition to the facts about aspect already mentioned) is that the *da*-clause with *nemoj* can contain a verb which is not 2nd person, i.e. whose subject is not the same as that of *nemoj*:

(14) Nemoj da se ja naljutim!
"Be careful I don't get mad."
(15) Nemoj da se to drugi put dogodi!
"Don't let it happen again!"

But a semantic constraint is still in force: the action expressed by the *da*-clause must be under the control or influence of the person addressed. One could not say

(16) Nemoj da Marko opet zakasni!
"Be sure Marko isn't late again."

except to someone who is capable of sending Marko off or holding him back.

Since the E *don't*, with which the E-speaking learner will naturally identify *nemoj*, cannot be followed by any sort of clause, the possibilities with SC *nemoj da...* will have to be specially explained and taught.

One difference in punctuation between the two languages should be pointed out. SC normally writes an exclamation point after imperative sentences, as in our examples above; the ! therefore does not necessarily mean special emphasis or peremptoriness, as it would in E.

N O T E S

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APPENDIX D

SERBO-CROATIAN VERBS WITH SE AND RELATED PROBLEMS FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING LEARNERS.

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SERBO-CROATIAN VERBS WITH *SE* AND RELATED PROBLEMS FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING LEARNERS

The title speaks of verbs with *se*, not of reflexive verbs, because only some *se* verbs are strictly speaking reflexive. Most, in fact, have no connection with the reflexive pronoun. *Se* verbs show a wide variety of behavior and of lexical or syntactic relationships to other words; we will take up a number of these, group by group.

One generalization can be made in advance: verbs with *se* never take a direct object in the accusative without a preposition.

> *Ja se bojim Milicu.
> *On se latio posao.
> *Nešto nas se desilo.

We can expect E-speaking learners to put direct objects in the accusative even after *se*-verbs, as well as after other sorts of verbs which require a non-accusative object, since they will overextend the correspondence between the syntactic notion "object" and the morphological form "accusative" which most frequently expresses this notion. Examples have been found of such errors: "možda se češljam svoju kosu".

There are two sorts of exceptions to this generalization: a) some verbs meaning speech actions can have two direct objects in the accusative,

> Ja bih Vas pitao još jednu stvar/ovo/nešto.
> "I would like to ask you one more thing/this/ something."

the second of which stands for a sentence (e.g. for *zašto cijena mesa nije stabilna*, "Why the price of meat is not stable"). These verbs when used with *se* can still have the second object standing for an S:

> Ja se pitam još jednu stvar/ovo/nešto.
> "I'm asking myself..., I wonder..."

b) A variant, often termed substandard, of the *se*-passive leaves the underlying direct object in the accusative instead of putting it in the nominative:

> veterani...su...uvidjeli, da ih se vara
> (Krleža, see Težak, *Jezik* 4-5, Zagreb, 1970-71)

See the discussion of the *se*-passive below.

1. *Se* as an inherent part of the verb (V_{se}).
Some verbs occur only with *se*: *bojati se*, *smijati se* (**bojati*, **smijati*). Other V are used both with and without

se, but the *se* when it occurs is an inherent part of the verb (not added by a rule, as it is, e.g., in the *se*-passive). It is not always possible to predict from the meaning of a verb whether it is a V_{se}, but many V_{se} fall into semantic groups and even show systematic correspondences with English.

One important group of V_{se} is verbs of psychological reactions. The experiencer of the reaction is in the nominative, i.e. is the subject of the verb. The cause of the reaction is in various cases or with prepositions, depending on the meaning of the verb.

1.1 V_{se} + genitive.

Marija se boji pasa.
"Mary is afraid of dogs."

Bojati se is a V_{se}. It has *se* as a part of its dictionary form. Compare:

Marija se plaši pasa.
"Mary is frightened of dogs."

There exists a verb *plašiti*:

Psi plaše Mariju.
"Dogs frighten Mary."

but it differs from *plašiti se* in that it can express an intentional action (on the part of the causer of the psychological state, i.e. the dogs) while the V_{se} *plašiti se* expresses only an unintentional psychological state. In fact, *plašiti*, in one sense, means to cause someone to be in the state referred to as *plašiti se* (aproximately, *činiti da se netko uplaši*, "make someone frightened"). That is, *plašiti se* is basic, and *plašiti* includes additional elements of meaning. *Plašiti se* is thus a V_{se} like *bojati se*.

Other psychological V_{se} with the genitive include *strašiti se*, *gnušati se*, *gaditi se*, *sramiti se*, *stidjeti se*. As we see, all have in common a negative semantic feature, a feeling of repulsion between the experiencer and the cause of the psychological state; this is in keeping with one of the general meanings of the genitive, that of separation or motion away (cf. *dolazim iz Beograda*, "I'm coming from Beograd", *otišao sam od Ivana*, "I went away from John's house", *pao je sa stola*, "He fell off the table"; *lišiti kmetove svih prava*, "to deprive serfs of all rights", *osloboditi ga dužnosti*, "to free him from his duties", etc.).

1.2 V_{se} + dative.

Ja se divim Vašem uspjehu.
"I admire your success."

There is no

*Vaš uspjeh me divi.

but some V_{se} + dative have a corresponding transitive, like plašiti se in 1.1.

Ja se čudim Vašem postupku.
"I am surprised at your action."

Vaš postupak me čudi.
"Your action surprises me.

Most V_{se} with the dative, unlike those with the genitive, are characterized by a positive emotion: admiration, joy and the like (radovati se, veseliti se, nadati se ...) although čuditi se and iznenaditi se need not be positive in tone.

1.3. V_{se} + za + accusative

Interesiram se za muziku
Zanimam se za muziku.
"I am interested in music."

The transitives also exist:

Interesira me muzika.
Zanima me muzika.
"Music interests me."

Similarly brinuti se, zabrinjavati se, "care about, worry about". These verbs have in common a meaning of care or interest, without the positive emotional tone found in 1.2 or the negative tone of 1.1.

1.4. V_{se} + na + accusative

Ivan se ljuti na Mariju.
"John is angry at Mary, John gets angry at Mary."

Cf. transitively:

Marija ljuti Ivana.
"Mary angers John."

Likewise: srditi se, gnjeviti se, razbijesniti se "be furious at" ...
The semantic common factor is obvious.

1.5 In English, a number of verbs exist corresponding to those of 1.1-4, but they are almost all now archaic. The normal way to render psychological reactions in present-day English is with adjectives. Cf.:

Mary fears dogs.	Mary is frightened (afraid, scared) of dogs.
I admire your success.	I am impressed with your success.
I wonder at your action. (arch.)	I am surprised at your action.

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I interest myself in music. (arch.)	I am interested in music.
Ø	John is angry (mad, enraged) at Mary.

Adjectives for these meanings exist in SC too, of course, but are not so commonly used as verbs with se. It is interesting that related adjectives and nouns usually take the same cases and prepositions as verbs with se (and not as the related transitive verbs):

Ivan je ljut na Mariju.
"John is angry at Mary."

corresponds to

Ivan se ljuti na Mariju.

and not to

Marija ljuti Ivana.

In the same way,

Moje čudjenje Vašem postupku
"My surprise at your action"

has the same relation between its elements as

Ja se čudim Vašem postupku

and not as

Vaš postupak me čudi.

This is another argument in favour of treating the V_{se}, and not the transitive verbs, as basic.

Many of the E adjectives look like passive participles, but the constructions they enter into are not passives. There is a contrast between the action, possibly intentional, expressed in the active and passive sentences

The dogs frightened Mary.
Mary was frightened by the dogs.

and the state (psychological reaction) in

Mary was frightened of/by the dogs.

That is to say, the construction

Mary was frightened by the dogs.

is ambiguous, one meaning being passive and the other evidently not.

1.6 Implications for teaching

Comparing SC verbs like bojati se, radovati se with rare or archaic E verbs like fear, rejoice at can help the learner to understand the SC structure in which the experiencer of the psychological state is the subject of the verb. But if he then establishes a translation equivalence between E verbs and SC verbs, he will find it difficult to use the SC verbs except in very formal contexts, since he never uses his E verbs in his ordinary E. He will be tempted to use SC adjectives whenever he knows them:

> Ivan je srdit/ljut/bijesan na Mariju.
> Ja sam zainteresiran za muziku.

To avoid this overuse of adjectives and underuse of verbs, textbooks and dictionaries should consistently give SC verbs as equivalents of E adjectives:
be afraid of = bojati se, be interested in = interesirati se za, etc.

2. Impersonal and passive V_{se}. SC has several devices for constructing sentences which do not name the deep subject of the verb. One of these is the passive construction with the passive participle. Unlike the E passive, which frequently serves to interchange the deep subject and object for the purposes of theme-rheme structure, the SC passive is mostly used without specification of this subject:

> Fakultet je osnovan 1869. godine.
> "The faculty was founded in 1869."

is more usual than

> Fakultet je osnovan 1869. godine od dr N. Kovalskog.
> "The faculty was founded in 1869 by Dr. N. Kovalski."

Another of these devices is to delete the subject and add se to the verb (which then goes in the 3rd person neuter singular, like other subjectless verbs). Of course, not just any subject can be so deleted: only an indefinite (unspecified) human subject, or a human subject known from the context or situation. From Pro ide "One goes" (where Pro is an unspecified pronoun-like element[1]), we can make ide se, but from Ivan ide we can make Ide se only if Ivan is previously known or understood from the context.

These se constructions can be divided into two groups on the basis of whether the underlying sentence is transitive or not (to be more precise, has a direct object in the accusative or not). If it is intransitive, all parts of the sentence remain the same:

> Pro govori momcima...neprekidno

becomes

> Govori se momcima...neprekidno
> "One/someone speaks to the men constantly"
> (Krleža, cited in Težak p. 148).
>
> Od bitnog je značaja da u izboru delegata Pro podje od osnovnih zadataka i problema svake sredine...

gives

> Od bitnog je značaja da se u izboru delegata podje od osnovnih zadataka i problema svake sredine...
> "It is of vital importance to start out (that one should start out) from the basic problems of each area in choosing delegates."
> (Vjesnik, Zagreb, 16.VI 1973.)

In a transitive sentence, however, the deep object becomes the new subject, and the verb agrees with it:

> (Članovi) biraju predsjednika i tajnika svake godine.
> "(The members) elect the chairman and the secretary every year."
> Predsjednik i tajnik se biraju svake godine.
> "The chairman and the secretary are elected every year."

This construction is customarily called the reflexive passive or se-passive. It is used very frequently in subordinate clauses in which E would use an infinitive:

> Svi naši pokušaji da se taksa naplati ostali su bez uspjeha.

This is derived from

> ...naši pokušaji da mi naplatimo taksu...

but the subject, mi, of the lower clause has been deleted because of the mi (in the form naši) in the upper clause. In English, the corresponding base structure

> ...our attempts that we collect the fee...

likewise undergoes deletion of the lower subject, we, but the result is an infinitive:

All our attempts to collect the fee were unsuccessful.

It would not be possible to say the E sentence with a passive:

*All our attempts that the fee be collected...

We can expect E-speaking learners of SC to try to construct infinitive clauses like:

*Svi naši pokušaji naplatiti taksu ostali su bez uspjeha.[2]

or, if they have learned the correspondence between E infinitive and SC _da_-clause, to restrict themselves to active _da_-clauses like

Svi naši pokušaji da naplatimo taksu...

In either case they will have trouble understanding and producing the frequent passive construction

Svi naši pokušaji da se naplati taksa...

which therefore must have special attention paid to it.

As noted above, there is a variant of the _se_-passive in which the deep object does not become the subject, but remains an object and is in the accusative.

Ona voli kad je se pošalje van.
"She likes getting sent out."
(conversation)

While grammarians do not consider this variant part of the standard language, it is often heard from Zagreb speakers and seen in Croatian written material. Težak 1970-1, p. 148, discusses instances of its use by Krleža, showing how it avoids an ambiguity which would arise if the object were made the subject:

veterani...su...uvidjeli, da ih se vara
"The veterans realized they were being fooled."

If _ih_ were made into the subject, the result would be

...da se (oni) varaju

which could mean "that they are wrong" (V_{se} varati se "to be wrong"), "that they are fooling themselves" (V + reflexive object), "that they are fooling each other" (V + reciprocal object), or "that they are being fooled" (_se_-passive). A similar example appeared in Vjesnik 12.

VI 1973. The Tanjug news story from Beograad said:

> ...zahtjev Dušana Resavca da se oslobodi dužnosti sekretara...
> "Dušan Resavac's request to be released from the duties of secretary"

which is probably a se-passive but could also be taken as a reflexive object ("to free himself"); the headline, written in Zagreb, said:

> zahtjev D.R. da ga se oslobodi dužnosti

which can only be a passive, "that he should be released".

Since foreign learners will encounter such constructions both in writing and in speech, it is necessary to explain their functioning to them, as well as warning them that they are not considered standard.

3. The dam se construction. The verb dati occurs in a special construction with a reflexive pronoun and an infinitive; we will call it the dam se construction for short.

(1) Ivan se nije dao iznenaditi.
"John didn't let himself be surprised."
(2) On se ne da zavaravati.
"He doesn't let people pull the wool over his eyes."

In (1) and (2), the subject is human; the verb dati seems to mean the same thing as dopustiti, "permit, let", but dopustiti cannot be used in the same construction:

(1') *Ivan se nije dopustio iznenaditi.
(2') *On se ne dopušta zavaravati.

When the subject is non-human,

(3) Ta se metoda tu ne dâ primijeniti.
(4) Njegova se knjiga jednostavno ne dâ čitati.

dati seems to be synonymous with moći, "can", and in fact moći appears in the same syntactic environment:

(3') Ta se metoda tu ne može primijeniti.
"This method cannot be applied here."
(4') Njegova se knjiga jednostavno ne može čitati.
"His book just can't be read."

In the analysis of this construction, we first observe that dati is not behaving like a normal reflexive verb. Instead of se we can have sebe (at least for some speakers):

(1")   Ivan nije dao sebe iznenaditi.

which is a proof that we are not dealing with a lexical unit (V_{se}) dati se. Further, the reflexive element can be in different cases, and even appear with prepositions, depending on the government of the lower verb (the one which is in the infinitive). Thus vladati takes an object in the instrumental (for some people, in the instrumental with the preposition s), not in the accusative.
So we cannot have:

(5)   *Ivan se ne dâ vladati.

Instead, the reflexive element goes in the instrumental case, showing it is a pronoun:

(5')   Ivan ne dâ sobom vladati.
"John doesn't let people order him around."

In the same way, govoriti requires a prepositional phrase with o

(6)   Govore o Ivanu.
"They are talking about John."

In the dam se construction, we must have o sebi:

(7)   *Ivan se nije dao govoriti.
Ivan nije dao o sebi govoriti.
"John didn't let people talk about him."

The phrase govoriti "ti" requires a dative:

(8)   Svi mu govore "ti".
"Everybody says "ti" to him."

Those speakers who use the enclitic si for the dative, as in

(9)   Ja si to ne mogu dozvoliti.
"I can't permit myself that."

can also use it in the construction under discussion:

(10)   On si ne dâ govoriti "ti".
"He doesn't let people say "ti" to him."

Since the reflexive pronoun is in the case demanded by the infinitive, it must be the object of the infinitive at some stage in the derivation of our sentences. Semantically, it seems to be the deep-structure object, since it bears the same relation to the verb in the infinitive as an object normally bears to the verb that governs it; compare (6) and (7), (8) and (9), or iznenaditi Ivana and (1). The deep subject of the infinitive is not the same as the subject of the verb *dati*: in (1) there is no mention of Ivan's surprising himself. In this respect, the *dam se* construction differs from almost all other infinitive constructions in SC, since the infinitive normally has a deep-structure subject which is deleted because it is identical with the subject of the upper verb. Compare

(11) Vesna voli čitati romane. Ja volim čitati romane.
"Vesna likes to read novels." "I like to read novels."

where the deep subject of *čitati* is the same as *Vesna*, *ja*, as can be seen in the corresponding sentences with *da* + present

(11') Vesna voli da čita romane. Ja volim da čitam romane.

Applying the same test, that of replacing the infinitive with *da* + present, to *dam se* constructions, we discover that the subject of the infinitive is usually an unspecified human subject.

(12) Ivan se nije dao iznenaditi.
(13) Ivan nije dao da ga iznenade.
"John didn't let them surprise him."
(14) Nije dao o sebi govoriti.
(15) Nije dao da se o njemu govori. Nije dao da o njemu govore.
"He didn't let one talk about him. He didn't let them talk about him."

Examples are sometimes found in which a subject of the infinitive is expressed in surface structure. It is expressed in the same way as in passive constructions, with *od* + genitive:

(16) Ivan se nije dao iznenaditi ni od koga.
"John didn't let himself be surprised by anyone."
Cf.
(17) Ivan nije dao da ga itko iznenadi.
"John didn't let anyone surprise him."
(18) Ivan se nije dao iznenaditi od Marije.
"John didn't let himself be surprised by Mary."
Cf.
(19) Ivan nije dao da ga Marija iznenadi.
"John didn't let Mary surprise him."

Teaching implications. The *dam se* construction is relatively uncommon, and active mastery of it by the foreign learners does not seem vital, especially since SC speakers in many cases disagree about its acceptability. However, it should be taught for recognition purposes, as it is quite dissimilar in structure from any E equivalent and would be bound to puzzle an E-speaker. First, the E verb give which usually corresponds to dati does not have the meaning "let, allow". Second, the English infinitive after let, permit, allow must have its subject expressed.

John lets Mary surprise him.
John lets people surprise him.

The non-sentence

*John lets surprise him (or himself).

is not only ungrammatical but also unintelligible. If we explain the SC construction by putting in an understood subject like one, people, a third difficulty appears: the use of the SC reflexive pronoun. E reflexive pronouns referring back to the subject of the sentence are not possible if another subject intervenes:

*John lets people surprise himself.

NOTES

1. See: David Perlmutter, Deep and Surface Structure Constraints in Syntax, 1971, Halt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York, p. 13.

2. This sentence is acceptable to some SC speakers, but most speakers do not accept the infinitive as a complement to a noun in such examples.

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APPENDIX E

NUMBER AGREEMENT IN SC FOR E LEARNERS

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(Partially based on: V. Ivir, "Number Agreement in English and Correspondent Structures in Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, Reports 4, Zagreb 1971, pp. 23-49.)

Number agreement in SC, as in E, depends on the head of the noun phrase (usually a noun). Within E NPs, demonstratives agree with the head; there is also agreement in number between subject NPs and most present-tense verbs (as well as the past of to be). SC number agreement always appears as part of a more general type:

a) within the NP adjectives, possessives, and demonstratives show gender-number-case agreement with the head;

b) finite verb forms have number-person agreement with their subjects;

c) participial verb forms in compound tenses, and predicate modifiers (adjectives, participles, possessives), agree in number and gender.

All these agreements in SC obviously present a serious learning problem for the E speaker: the notion of agreement is not totally foreign to him, but he must practice each type of agreement extensively as soon as he encounters the morphological classes affected by it.

All agreements in SC follow the morphological form of the head; examples of "logical" agreement with its referent instead (so common in English: my family are, the United States is) are rare enough that they need not be taught. But this should not prove to be a special source of difficulty for the E learner of SC. Faced with Sjedinjene države, he will necessarily follow his training and say... su bile upetljane, since if he attempted singular agreement he would be at a loss as to what gender to choose.

In English, verbs sometimes agree with nouns which are not the surface structure heads of their NPs, e. g. are with inaccuracies instead of with number in:

> A number of inaccuracies are inevitable in a report of this kind.
> Izvjestan broj netačnosti neizbježan je u ovakvom izvještaju.

But again, the E speaker learning SC will not be tempted to use a plural predicate with such subjects, for he will observe that the noun after *of* is in the SC genitive case, and he will have learned as a general principle that predicates agree only with nominatives.

This same principle of formal agreement of verbs and predicates with nominative subjects, if well practiced, will help the learner through the difficulties of agreement with numeral and quantifier constructions. Agreement with phrases containing the number 1 can of course be learned very early, since *jedan* acts like an adjective and has no effect on the form of the noun. Phrases with 2, 3, and 4 come next; they take nominative plural agreement with feminine nouns, which will present no difficulty to the learner (*dvije žene su stigle*, *četiri nove knjige*). But it will be necessary to point out that 2, 3, and 4 require a special form in -*a* (as in dv-*a*) in masculine and neuter nouns and everything agreeing with them (*dva čovjeka su stigla*, *tri velika slova*). (In view of the frequent difficulties involved in forming masculine plurals --see below--it might even be advisable to teach the 2-3-4 form first and the plurals later.)

After 1-4 are mastered, we come to forms lacking agreement. The first step is to point out that *mnogo* (and *puno*) are not nouns in the nominative. The nouns in constructions like *mnogo ljudi*, *puno čaja* are in the genitive, and therefore there is no agreement (which means that the predicate must go into the neuter singular). Next we teach the use of *pet*, *šest*. . . which likewise are not themselves nouns and likewise require the nouns they accompany to be in the genitive plural.

E. g. *Pet žena*. Such phrases do not change their form for different cases: *mnogo žena* and *pet žena* can function as nominative, genitive, accusative, etc. They have the same (lack of) agreement in the predicate. Then come numerals which have the shape of nouns: *stotina*, *tisuća/hiljada*. When these occur with no other number preceding, they are normally put into the accusative: *stotinu ljudi*, *hiljadu dana*. Again, these phrases do not change their form for different cases: Došao sam *sa stotinu ljudi*. Once again there is lack of agreement:

> Stotinu ljudi *je* ranjen*o*.
>
> Hiljadu dana *je* prošl*o*.

Finally we come to a set of non-numerical quantifiers which show the same behavior; accusative case, no agreement. These are the time units when used in the singular and followed by gen. pl. *dana*:

> Godinu dana *je* proš*lo*.
>
> Preostal*o* *je* samo još tjedan/nedelju/sedmicu dana.

Features of nouns

In both languages, some nouns can be counted (_one man_, _two men_; _jedan čovjek_, _dva čovjeka_) and others cannot (_sand_, *_one sand_, *_two sands_; _pijesak_, *_jedan pijesak_, *_dva pijeska_). Non-countable nouns are usually called _mass nouns_. E count nouns usually correspond to SC count nouns, and the same for mass nouns in the two languages. But not in every case: _onions_ are countable, but _luk_ is not. _Two onions_ is expressed with the same word _glavica_ as _two heads of cabbage_: _dvije glavice luka_, _dvije glavice kupusa_. The E speaker will not expect differences in the mass-count feature between his nouns and their SC equivalents, so such differences will have to be emphasized. This could be done by listing items in the vocabulary for each lesson like this:

> _luk_ onions, onion: jedna glavica luka, dvije glavice luka
> (one onion, two onions)

to stress non-countability, or

> _informacija_ information: jedna informacija, dvije informacije
> (one piece of information, two pieces...)

to emphasize countability.

A similar device can be used in presenting pluralia tantum, at least those which are count nouns. The E speaker is accustomed to treating _scissors_, _eaves_ and the like as plurals, and to having difficulties when they have to be counted: _three pairs of scissors_ instead of *_three scissors_ or *_three scissorses_ is ready to hand, but there is nothing so obvious to put between _three_ and _eaves_. He will have to practice the simpler SC system with numerals right before the noun: _jedne škare_, _dvoje škare_, _troje_.... As a reminder, each pl tantum vocabulary item should be so listed:

> škare fpl. scissors: jedne škare, dvoje škare

This is especially important when the noun is pl. tantum in SC but not in E:

> vrata npl. door, doors: jedna vrata, dvoja vrata
>
> novine fpl. newspaper, newspapers: jedne novine, dvoje novine

(Unfortunately, several of the most obvious candidates for inclusion in the vocabularies of beginning lessons belong to the _vrata_ type: _usta_, _kola_.)

The same device--listing together with numbers--would be useful to the learner when a word is pl. tantum in E but a normal count noun in SC:

> _streha_ eaves: jedna streha, dvije strehe

When the E pl. tantum corresponds to a SC mass noun, no such easily memorable method of presentation can be found; but in fact errors will probably not arise, since the foreign student will simply memorize the equivalent of *oats*, say, in its citation form *zob*, gen. *zobi.*

Corresponding to the English irregular plurals cited by Ivir, there are SC nouns with irregular plural formations--almost all among the masculines, interestingly enough. For example, we can state a rule that one-syllable masculine stems take -*ov*- (-*ev*-after palatals) before the plural endings: *grad*-*ov*-*i*, *kralj*-*ev*-*i*, *kotl*-*ov*-*i*, *strič*-*ev*-*i*. We must then give as exceptions

1) those monosyllables that take -ev- for expected -ov-: nos-ev-i, put-ev-i (beside putovi),

2) monosyllables that take no -ov-/-ev-: konj-i, djac-i. . . and ethnic names like Čes-i, Prus-i, Bask-i.

3) nouns with more than one syllable that take -ov-/-ev- nevertheless: sokol-ov-i, slučaj-ev-i. . .

Such irregular plurals have to be learned one by one; but none of them will cause any trouble in number agreement, since all end in the normal -*i* and have normal masc. pl. agreement. The only agreement difficulties that can be expected are with a very few forms in -*a* (*brat-braća*, *gospodin-gospoda*, also one neuter: *dijete-djeca*) which take a plural verb (*braća su došla*) but have endings as for feminine singulars in -*a* (*moja braća*, *moje braće*, *mojoj braći* etc.).

SC, however, also has a large number of collective nouns, which are used to express the plural of other nouns when separate individuals are not being referred to. No such class exists in E, so E-speakers will certainly encounter difficulty here. There are two types of collectives:

1) neuters in -*e* made from masc. or neuter nouns:
cvijet-cvijeće, drvo-drveće

2) feminines in -*ad*
tele-telad, bure-burad

These are all mass nouns. As one might expect, the first type has neuter singular agreement (*cvijeće je bilo u vazi*); the second type has the form of fem. sg. nouns, but finite verbs with them can be sg. or pl. (*telad je došla* or *telad su došla*, the plural perhaps being preferred with human nouns and the singular with others). Since type 2 is bound to a particular rare declensional pattern (neuters in -*e*, -*eta*), it should be learned together with this pattern at a rather advanced stage. Collectives of type 1 must be learned together with their base nouns, many of which are rather common (*cvijet*, *list*, *drvo*, *kamen*). Once it is made clear that type 1 collectives are neuter like *more* or *polje*, the correct agreement will be easily achieved. But special attention should be given to their method of formation (by jotovanje, as in other derivation types like *gora-Zagorje*, *ljubav-ljubavlju*, *brat-braća*).

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APPENDIX F

GENDER IN SERBO-CROATIAN FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING LEARNERS

Wayles Browne

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GENDER IN SERBO-CROATIAN FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING LEARNERS

E and SC have the same three genders: masculine, feminine, neuter. In E, masculine and feminine gender is almost completely restricted to animate beings, depends on their true sex, and is expressed only in choice of anaphoric pronoun (*he* or *she*). In SC none of these are true. Therefore we can expect gender to cause problems for the E-speaking learner of SC.

1. Nouns and their genders. E inanimate nouns have masculine or feminine gender only exceptionally, and never obligatorily. So the very idea that SC nouns belong to different genders should be new and difficult for E speakers. In practice, however, they do not tend very much to make mistakes showing a complete misunderstanding of the category of gender: they do not, e.g., tend to use neuter gender for every SC inanimate noun.

There remains the problem of knowing which gender a noun belongs to. Fortunately, this is much more straightforward in SC than in such languages as French or German.

SC nouns belong to four declension types:

1. -Ø, genitive -a (prozor, prozora; kakadu, kakadua)
2. -o/e, genitive -a (selo,sela; radio, radija; polje, polja; Marko, Marka; vrijeme, vremena; tele, teleta)
3. -a, genitive -e (soba, sobe)
4. -Ø, genitive -i (stvar, stvari)

Each type is normally associated with a gender. Type 1 words are always masculine. Type 2 words are neuter, except for personal names and foreign words, which are masculine (*Marko*, *radio*). Type 3 words are feminine, except for a few words denoting men (*mladoženja*, *vladika*, *Perica*) which are masculine (other words like *varalica*, *propalica* are feminine, but when they denote men optionally masculine). Type 4 words are all feminine.

As we see, these associations make it unnecessary, in most instances, for the beginner in SC to learn both a declension type and a gender with each new word. *Soba* is clearly feminine, *kakadu* masculine. *Selo*, *polje*, *vrijeme*, *tele* are neuter, if we know that they are neither foreign words nor personal names; *Marko* and *radio* are thus masculine. Only words with -Ø (no ending) in the nominative can cause problems: the learner might think

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prozor was feminine, and *stvar* might be masculine. Therefore, to distinguish these words the genitive singular must be used (*prozora*, but *stvari*). However, there are many more Type-1 words than Type-4, and Type-4 is productive only in words with the suffixes -*ost*, -*ad*. So we can recommend that only Type-4 words have to be learned together with the genitive singular: *stvar stvari*, *ljubav ljubavi* etc.

Discrepancies between declension type and gender must be specially pointed out. It is not enough to give the rule that -*a* words meaning men are masculine, because certain -*a* words can refer to men but remain feminine (*osoba*, *stranka*). An added difficulty is that such discrepancies are eliminated in the plural. In plural forms gender corresponds to declension type, so that *mladoženje*, *vladike* are feminine (although they are also sometimes treated as masculine: *ove mladoženje*, or *ovi mladoženje*).

2. How gender is expressed. Gender in E shows up only in the choice of an anaphoric pronoun (*he*, *she*, *it*). The plural of the E anaphoric pronoun shows no gender distinctions (*they*). On the other hand, SC anaphoric pronouns show gender in the singular (*on*, *ona*, *ono*) and also in the plural (*oni*, *one*, *ona*). We can expect E-speakers to have special difficulties with the SC plural pronouns 1) because of the genderless E *they*, 2) because many learners of SC have had previous contact with Russian which uses *oni* for the plural regardless of gender, and 3) because idiosyncracies in the use of *oni*, *one*, *ona* in SC. SC uses masculine plural for groups of mixed genders (*Ivan*, *Marija* i *Ksenija* ... *oni*; *žena* i *dijete* ... *oni*) and even when neuter singulars are conjoined (*dijete* i *tele* ... *oni*). The result is that *ona* is used only for neuter plural antecedents (*polja* ... *ona*); *one*, only for fem.pl. or grouped fem.sg. antecedents. Further, there is a tendency in spoken SC to use *oni* for groups of women. Therefore the learner will hear *oni* much more often than *one* and *ona*, and will tend to use it when one of the others is required.

3. Agreement in gender. Besides the agreement in gender and number between pronouns and their antecedents, already mentioned, SC has two more sorts of agreement. One is in gender, case, and number, between the head of an NP and its modifiers. The other is between subject and verb or predicate (only non-finite verbal forms and adjectival predicates agree in gender). Both have been treated in "Number agreement for E learners".

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APPENDIX G

ON TEACHING SC PRONOMINALIZATION TO E-SPEAKING LEARNERS

Wayles Browne

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ON TEACHING SC PRONOMINALIZATION TO E-SPEAKING LEARNERS

(Based on:Ljiljana Mihailović, "On Differences in Pronominalization in English and Serbocroat", in R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP, *Studies 2*, Zagreb, 1970, pp. 50-59.)

English personal pronouns can be used only under the condition of identity of reference. In

(1) He has a red car. -- When did he buy the car?
(1SC) On ima crveni auto. -- Kada je kupio taj auto?

the phrase *the car* refers to the same car as in the first sentence; therefore it can be (and normally is) pronominalized as *it*:

(2) When did he buy *it*?
(2SC) Kada ga je kupio?

When a noun is repeated but the condition of identity with a previous noun is not fulfilled, as in

(3) He doesn't have a car. -- Why doesn't he buy a car?
(not: the car)

(3SC) On nema auto. -- Zašto ne kupi auto?

where the two phrases *a car* can't refer to the same particular car, the pronoun *one* is used to replace the noun:

(4) He doesn't have a car. -- Why doesn't he buy *one*?
(4SC) On nema auto. -- Zašto ga ne kupi?

SC, as our example shows, uses the ordinary personal pronouns in both situations. This is a striking difference between the two languages, and E-speakers are sure to be puzzled when they first come across sentences like (4SC). They will take *ga* as "it", and search about in vain for an antecedent to which the reference of *it* could be identical. Since pronominalization rules are rather remote from the ordinary speaker's consciousness (and cause much uncertainty even to linguists), the best course in teaching is probably not to explain the identity-of-reference conditions as such, but rather to teach that English *one* is properly translated by the SC personal pronouns. Examples like

(5) Ivan has a birthday today, and Marija has one tomorrow.
(5SC) Ivan ima danas rodjendan, a Marija ga ima sutra.

where there can be no thought of identity of reference, followed by extensive translation exercises from E into SC, should fix the SC usage in the student's mind.

This is the rule for translating one when it appears alone. It seems reasonable to teach in the same lesson the proper equivalent for one accompanied by an adjective:

(6) He has two red tables, and I have a (or one) black one.
(6SC) On ima dva crvena stola, a ja (imam) jedan crni Ø.

That is, one after an adjective is simply left out in SC, and the adjective is normally put into the definite form (that is, not . . . *a ja (imam) jedan crn).

At the end of her paper, Ljiljana Mihailović touches on the question of omission of personal pronouns in SC sentences. It is well known that subject pronouns are normally left out in SC unless emphasized or contrasted; this rule will presumably be taught as soon as finite verbs are introduced. But there are also instances in which object pronouns can be left out:

(7) Da li biste mi mogli pozajmiti kutiju šibica? --
Da $\underset{\text{ih}}{\emptyset}$ imam uzajmila bih ti $\underset{\text{ih}}{\emptyset}$.

The object ih would not be used twice in (7). cf.:

(7E) Could you lend me a box of matches? -- If I had one, I'd lend it to you. (*If I had, I'd lend to you.)

"The zero form in SC can be used as a variant of the definite pronoun usually after certain verbs which allow optional deletion of the NP in the function of object, such as dati, pozajmiti, kupiti, doneti, etc." (Mihailović, 57.) It would be of great interest, both for SC grammatical studies and for practical language teaching, to determine more precisely the conditions for this zeroing of the pronoun.

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APPENDIX H

INTRODUCTION TO WORD ORDER

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INTRODUCTION TO WORD ORDER

Let us start our discussion with two SC sentences:

(1) Predsjednik Tainu je jučer doputovao u Zagreb.
(2) Petar Jurić je dočekao predsjednika Tainua na aerodromu.

Each is a perfectly acceptable sentence by itself, but at least one of them has to be changed if they are to form a coherent text.

(3) a. Predsjednika Tainua je na aerodromu dočekao Petar Jurić.
b. G. Tainua je na aerodromu dočekao Petar Jurić.
c. Njega je na aerodromu dočekao Petar Jurić.
d. Na aerodromu ga je dočekao Petar Jurić.
e. Visokog gosta je na aerodromu dočekao Petar Jurić.

The changes we have made illustrate the fact that SC word order depends in large part on the informational structure of the sentence. Any sentence can normally be divided into two parts: the *theme*, which is the point of departure for the message, and the *rheme*, which carries the information we want to convey about the theme. The theme can be *new*, as in sentence (1): we first bring in President Tainu, and then we tell something about him. Or it can be an *old theme*, something known from the context (the preceding sentence of the text); this is the case with President Tainu in the second sentence of our little text in (3). (An old theme can also be something known from the situation:

Danas je lijepo vrijeme.

Danas is known to both speaker and listener.)

In a SC sentence the theme most typically comes before the rheme. This is why (2) cannot be the second sentence of a text: *Predsjednik Tainu*, the theme, comes after two elements of the rheme, namely *Petar Jurić* and *dočekao je*. In text (3a), we have moved *predsjednik Tainu* to first position in the sentence, so that the theme comes before all the elements of the rheme.

Sentences (3b, c, d) show that an old theme does not have to be repeated in full. It can be replaced by another word or phrase referring to the same thing (*G. Tainua*, *visokog gosta*) or by a pronoun (*Njega*, *ga*); or it can be left out entirely, as often happens with subjects (see below).

Why have we moved the words na aerodromu and dočekao in the sentences of (3)? Again because of the informational structure of the sentence. Within the rheme, elements are arranged according to their importance for the message, with the most important at the end. In the context of a state visit by a foreign dignitary, the place at which he actually arrives (airport, railroad station) and the fact that he is greeted carry less information, since they can be taken for granted. The most important thing to mention is who greets him. So na aerodromu and dočekao come before Petar Jurić.

Of course, informational structure is not the only principle governing word order in SC. The grammatical structure also plays an important role. We can see an example of grammatical conditioning of word order in (3c, d). The accented form of the personal pronoun, njega, can stand at the beginning of the sentence like any ordinary word. But the unaccented form ga cannot; it is an enclitic and must obey the rule which puts enclitics after the first non-enclitic element. In (3d) that means putting ga after na aerodromu.

In English grammatical conditioning of word order is much stronger, so that we cannot translate, say, (3b) as

> President Tainu arrived in Zagreb. Mr Tainu
> at the airport welcomed Petar Jurić.

if we want to say that Jurić welcomed Tainu. The subject in English comes before the verb in most sentences, and the verb comes before its object. It is sometimes said that E has "fixed", or "grammatical", word order, while languages like SC have "free" word order. But this is an oversimplification. As we have seen the word order in SC is not free, but dependent partly on informational structure and partly on grammatical. English word order depends on grammar, but E grammar provides many devices to allow the order of words of a sentence to conform to informational structure. (3b) could best be translated by a passive:

> President Tainu arrived in Zagreb. Mr. Tainu
> (or: he) was welcomed at the airport by Petar
> Jurić.

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APPENDIX I

THEME-RHEME STRUCTURE AND WORD ORDER FOR LEARNERS OF SERBO-CROATIAN

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THEME-RHEME STRUCTURE AND WORD ORDER FOR LEARNERS OF SERBO-CROATIAN

E-speaking learners of SC are faced with several word-order problems. The SC enclitic verbal and pronominal forms are troublesome because they must be arranged in a fixed order among themselves, and because the enclitic group must come in a particular position in the SC sentence--usually after the first constituent.1) But the non-enclitic elements of the sentence will also present problems to the E speaker. This is because he is used to the E system, which uses word order to indicate syntactic relations among the main elements of the sentence (subject, verb, indirect object, object), and in which only secondary elements (adverbs, prepositional phrases) normally vary in position. In SC, on the other hand, the order of sentence elements is not so much bound to syntactic relations. It is most typically subject-verb-object as in E; but it can be changed for various purposes, among which is that of showing the theme-rheme structure (functional sentence perspective) of the sentence. A general principle of theme-rheme structure is that the theme (element which the sentence has in common with the previous context) comes first, serving as a bridge linking the sentence with what precedes, and the rheme (the information which the sentence gives about the theme) follows after the theme. The most important part of the rheme gets the strongest stress in the sentence. Typically the subject is the theme and the predicate is the rheme, with the object being the most informative part of the rheme. When this condition is met, the SC sentence will have the same order of elements as the corresponding E sentence. Suppose we have been talking about Tom; he is then our theme. We want to say about him that he is writing a novel:

(1) Tom piše roman.

The elements in this sentence come in the same order as in the E sentence

(1E) Tom is writing a novel.

But not for the same reason. In E the order is syntactic, subject-verb-object; in SC it is theme-rheme, where within the rheme piše is less informative (r) and roman is more informative (R).

There are a number of situations in which SC word order departs from the subject-verb-(object) sequence normal for E[2]. Most of these can be expected to cause difficulty to E-speakers.

1. When the object is the theme (T), SC can put it first in the sentence:

(2) (Talking about a certain painting) Sliku je kupio... jedan bogati Amerikanac.

Then come the verb (a less informative part of the rheme, in this example) and the subject (the most informative part of the rheme with the strongest stress), so that we have the order T r R.

E. can optionally put objects first under some conditions: e.g. when contrasted with another object:

(3) The painting, a wealthy American bought; the sculpture we couldn't sell at all.

or when containing a deictic:

(4) This painting a wealthy American bought.

It cannot normally invert subject and verb in such sentences:

(5) *This painting bought a wealthy American.

In our example (2), painting would have the definite article, no deictic and no contrast. Under these conditions, object-preposing is impossible:

(6) *The painting a wealthy American bought.

The correct ways to express (2) are:

a) with subject-verb-object word order, but stress not at the end:

(7) A wealthy American bought the painting.

Here we have stronger stress on the subject (R), and weaker stress on r and T. This stress pattern will be found again and again in our examples.

b) by using the passive:

(8) The painting was bought by a wealthy American.

Here T, the painting, has become the subject, and R, a wealthy American has been put at the end of the verb phrase, so that the grammatical order (subject-verb phrase) and the TR order now coincide. The passive is thus a device which E can (but need not) use to make its sentence elements come in TR order.

Consider now the task of the E speaker trying to express the message about the picture in SC. If he follows (7), he will arrive at

(9) Jedan bogati Amerikanac je kupio sliku.

This sentence seems all right in its written form, but it would probably not be used with the stress pattern indicated--or any other--to convey our message about our picture. If we hadn't destressed sliku, it would mean "A wealthy American bought a picture". As it is, contrastive stress is felt on the subject.

If he follows (8), he (assuming that he knows how to make the passive correctly) will produce

(10) Slika je kupljena od (od strane) jednog bogatog Amerikanca.

But the passive with expressed agent is a rare construction in SC, considered un-literary or even "un-SC" by many speakers. We do not want our foreign students to use it frequently.

Given the ungrammaticality of (5) and (6), we expect that E speakers will not produce the desired (2).

If our expectations are correct, much attention will have to be given to teaching the dependence of SC word order on theme-rheme structure. Since E-speaking students are totally unacquainted with the notions of theme and rheme, a useful device in teaching might be to draw arrows from the theme(s) of a sentence to the part of the preceding discourse which it is linked with. It should then seem logical that the arrows come from the beginning of the sentence--the part nearest to the preceding discourse.

A variant of object=theme is object+verb=theme. Cf. Bibović's

(11) a) Njega podržavaju i mnogi drugi ljudi.

b) Podržavaju ga i mnogi drugi ljudi.

where both "him" and "support" are evidently linked with the preceding discourse. To avoid special problems with pronoun ordering, let us replace the pronoun by a noun:

(12) Direktora podržavaju i mnogi drugi ljudi.

The E equivalent, just as in the case of (2), can be passive, as in Bibović's original example:

(13) He is being backed by a *number of other people*, too.

or active with destressing of the theme:

(14) *A number of other people* back him, too.

2. In a sentence consisting only of subject and verb, the subject can be the rheme (or the most important part of the rheme). Here again SC postposes the subject. E has a device to do the same thing: introductory *there*. But we must distinguish two cases:

a) the verb is *be* denoting existence. E almost always uses *there* and postposes the subject. A locative adverbial may come last, or (especially if it is thematic) first.[3]

(15) There is a lion in the garden.

(A lion is in the garden.)

In the garden there is a lion.

E-speakers, once they have learned that *there* is not translated (or that *there is* together gives *ima*) should be able to put the subject after the verb in SC without trouble. But they will have to be taught that locative adverbials typically come first in SC:

(15 SC) U bašti je lav.

U bašti ima lav.[4]

Often E *there is* is used when the meaning is "coming into existence or onto the scene". Here SC uses special verbs instead of *biti* (*ima*), varying with the semantic class of the subject:

(16) There was a whistle.
Začu se zvižduk.

(17) There was an accident.
Dogodila se nesreća.

Bibović lists a few of these verbs, but it is clear that they must be studied more in detail, and then taught carefully. Otherwise our students will say "Bila je nesreća" (which is possible, although *dogodila se* is preferable) and *"Bio je zvižduk".

b) the verb is not *be*. Here the device of postposing the subject and using introductory *there* is much less common and found mostly in literary style. The normal practice is to keep subject-verb word order, with stress on the rheme (the subject) and less stress on the verb.

(18) A party of schoolchildren arrived.

(There arrived a party of schoolchildren.)

When the subject is definite, there cannot normally be used at all:

(19) The hostess appeared.

?There appeared the hostess.

We expect E-speaking learners to follow their normal style of E (rather than the uncommon there-construction) and make incorrect or misleading SC sentences like

(2o) Grupa djaka je stigla.

Domaćica se pojavila.

instead of the correct

(21) Stigla je grupa djaka.

Pojavila se domaćica.

The first of their sentences would be taken to mean "the group of schoolchildren", and the stress pattern might be understood as making a contrast between the group of the schoolchildren and the group of somebody else. The second would also suggest a contrast. Hence the order of elements in this type of sentence must be taught and exercised. It fits together with the other examples meaning "coming into existence or onto the scene" in 2a.

NOTES

1) See:W.Browne, "Serbo-Croatian Enclitics for English-speaking Learners", the accompanying papers.

2) See:Ljiljana Bibović, "On the Word Order of Subject and Predicate in English and Serbo-Croatian from the Point of View of Functional Sentence Perspective", in R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP, Reports 5, Zagreb 1971, pp. 1 - 1o.

3) Cf. Ljiljana Mihailović, "Existential Sentences in English and Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP Studies 5, Zagreb 1972, pp. 67-1o9.

4) The use of ima with a nominative singular subject, as in this example, is typical of the Eastern variant of SC only.

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APPENDIX J

FOUR RULES FOR THE POSITION OF THE VERB

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FOUR RULES FOR THE POSITION OF THE VERB

1. When the subject of a SC sentence is the rheme and is put at the end, other parts of the sentence must change their order too. Recall example (2) in "Introduction to Word Order":

> Petar Jurić je dočekao predsjednika Tainua na aerodromu.

Here the words come in their grammatical order: subject - verb - object - adverbial phrase. If Petar Jurić is the most important part of the rheme, we must normally put it at the end. But this is not enough by itself:

> *Dočekao je predsjednika Tainua na aerodromu Petar Jurić.

That is, the remaining words cannot remain in their grammatical order. The verb dočekao must be moved out of first place, and preferably all the way to the right (to before the subject):

> Predsjednika Tainua je na aerodromu dočekao Petar Jurić.

If we only move it part way, the result is generally not as good:

> ?Predsjednika Tainua je dočekao na aerodromu Petar Jurić.

We can see further examples of the same verb movement in answers to questions. If the question is

> Tko je otputovao u Beograd?
> "Who left for Beograd?"

the answer can be

> 'Petar.

or

> 'Petar je otputovao u Beograd.

But we can also put Petar (the rheme) at the end. This necessitates moving the verb to after u Beograd:

> U Beograd je otputovao Petar.
> *Otputovao je u Beograd Petar.

Cf. also:

> Tko je donio šunku?
> "Who brought the ham?"
> ʼMarija.
> ʼMarija je donijela šunku.
> Šunku je donijela Marija.

But not

> *Donijela je šunku Marija.

> Tko je donio Mariji cvijeće?
> "Who brought Mary flowers?"
> ʼPetar.
> ʼPetar je donio Mariji cvijeće.
> Cvijeće je Mariji donio Petar.

Not

> *Donio je Mariji cvijeće Petar.
> ?Mariji je donio cvijeće Petar.
> ?Cvijeće je donio Mariji Petar.

With verbs of existence or coming onto the scene the subject is normally the rheme even outside of context:

> Dogodila se nesreća.
> "An accident occurred."
> Začuo se zvižduk.
> "A whistle was heard."

The same rule applies as with the preceding examples:

> Jučer se u Pragu dogodila nesreća.
> "Yesterday in Prague an accident occurred."
> ?Dogodila se jučer u Pragu nesreća.

> Uto se začuo zvižduk.
> "Then a whistle was heard."
> ?Začuo se uto zvižduk.

2. Violations of this principle (that the verb cannot be at the beginning if the subject is at the end) are frequently due to another word-order rule which requires the verb at the beginning after (or inside) quotations. Just as one says

> Donesi šunku, rekla je Ana.
> "Bring the ham", said Ann.

with rekla before Ana, one can say

> Molim deset deka šunke, rekla je mesaru jedna domaćica.
> "A hundred grams of ham, please," said a housewife to the butcher.

The order of elements after the verb in this construction depends on theme and rheme. Here the butcher is presumably part of the theme if the scene is in a butcher's shop, while jedna domaćica is not previously known and must be in the rheme. If the subject were ona it would have to be an old theme, and could not come at the end:

> Molim deset deka šunke, rekla je ona mesaru.
> "A hundred grams of ham, please," said she to a/the butcher.

There is a similar rule in English for sentences in or after a quotation, as the English translations above show: said she, said a housewife. So we can expect that English-speaking students will not have great trouble learning the SC rule. However, there are some differences which must be pointed out[1]:

A. The E rule inverts subject and verb (*said to the butcher a housewife); the SC rule puts the verb first, and the other elements in the sentence follow in whatever order the theme-rheme structure calls for.

B. The English rule is optional, and is used more when the style is somewhat literary. The SC rule is practically obligatory.

> "Bring the ham," Ann said (said Ann).
> *Donesi šunku, Ana je rekla.

C. In E, pronoun subjects usually do not invert except with the verb say:

> "Bring the ham," she said/said she.
> "Bring the ham," she ordered/??ordered she.

In SC, pronoun subjects come after the verb just as any other subjects would:
> Donesi šunku, rekla je ona.
> Donesi šunku, naredila je ona.

3. A third rule for verb position applies to yes-no questions made with the particle li.[2] The finite verb must come first in the sentence, followed immediately by li:

> Govori li Marija engleski?
> "Does Mary speak English?"

The subject need not follow the verb + li immediately; if it is treated as the rheme, it is accented and can come at the end:

Ide li sutra Petar u Beograd?
Ide li sutra u Beograd Petar?
"Is it Petar who is going to Beograd tomorrow?"
Vodi li Petar grupu?
Vodi li grupu Petar?
"Is it Petar who is leading the group?"

The English-speaking learner will understand such questions with the subject at the end, but will quite possibly not produce them, since the English rule for yes-no questions inverts the subject and the auxiliary verb. Therefore he will be led to say

Ide li Petar sutra u Beograd?
Vodi li Petar grupu?

and no difficulty in communication will result since these are equally acceptable questions.

4. There is one construction in SC which does require inversion of subject and verb. This is a device used in informal speech to emphasize an assertion. Cf.

Ja znam što je dobro.
"I know what's good."
Znam ja što je dobro.

The second sentence, with emphatic stress on the verb, is a much stronger assertion, militantly contradicting a suggestion that I don't know what's good. Similarly,

Dobit ćeš ti svoje!
"You'll get what's coming to you!"

is much more of a threat than

Ti ćeš dobiti svoje!

In this construction the subject must be used; Cf.

Znam što je dobro.
Dobit ćeš svoje.

which are not specially emphatic. The subject can also be a noun:

Nije Petar glup!
"Peter's not stupid!"

Nothing except enclitics can come between verb and subject:

*Dobit ćeš svoje ti!
*Znam sigurno ja što je dobro!
"I certainly know what's good."

and no word (except conjunctions) can come before the verb:

Ma znam ja što je dobro!
*Sigurno znam ja što je dobro!

This construction should not be recommended to the beginner, for two reasons. First, it has not been thoroughly studied, so that we do not know just which verbs can be used in it. Second, it must be pronounced with the proper emphatic intonation or the effect of emphasis will be lost. (It is not used in formal written style.)

NOTES

1. See:Ljiljana Bibović:"On Inversion in English and Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, Reports 1, Zagreb, 1969, pp. 15-24.

2. See also:W. Browne, "Serbo-Croatian Enclitics for English-speaking Learners", the accompanying papers.

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APPENDIX K

FIXED WORD ORDER IN SERBO-CROATIAN

Wayles Browne - Anuška Nakić

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FIXED WORD ORDER IN SERBO-CROATIAN

We said above that SC word order is in general fixed within phrases. We will now discuss several types of phrases and draw comparisons with English.

I The noun phrase can contain several elements besides the noun: adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, possessives. Adjectives normally come before the noun, just as in English:

crvena ruža
"red rose"

željeznička stanica
"railroad station"

When there are several adjectives, their order is sometimes fixed and sometimes not.

The rules determining the order have not yet been well studied, but the foreign student will usually not go wrong if he follows the English order.

velike crvene ruže
"big red roses"

*crvene velike ruže
*"red big roses"

lijepe velike ruže
"beautiful large roses"

but also

velike lijepe ruže
"large beautiful roses"

Numerals precede adjectives and nouns:

deset ruža
"ten roses"

*ruža deset
*"roses ten"

deset crvenih ruža
"ten red roses"

*crvenih deset ruža
*"red ten roses"

Demonstratives precede numerals, adjectives, and nouns:

ovih deset crvenih ruža
"these ten red roses"

The order

deset ovih crvenih ruža

is also possible, but in normal style it has a different meaning, being equivalent to

deset od ovih crvenih ruža
"ten of these red roses"

When the meaning is not "so and so many of..." the demonstrative must precede the numeral:

Na izlet je išlo ovih deset studenata ovdje.
"These ten students here went on the excursion."
*Na izlet je išlo deset ovih studenata ovdje.

The order so far is as in English:

Dem - Num - Adj - Noun.

All in English precedes demonstratives:

All these roses

All these ten red roses

This is its normal position in SC too:

Sve ove ruže

Svih ovih deset crvenih ruža

But it also occurs after the demonstrative:

Ove sve ruže

Ovih svih deset crvenih ruža

As in English, it can also be detached from the noun phrase and show up in some other part of the sentence. As the following examples show,

Oni studenti su svi išli na izlet.
"Those students have all gone on the excursion."

Oni studenti su išli svi na izlet.
*"Those students have gone all on the excursion."

*Oni studenti su išli na izlet svi.
*"Those students have gone on the excursion all."

it can occupy a greater range of positions in SC than in E, but its freedom is not absolute. This phenomenon, called "Quantifier Floating" in transformational grammar, deserves further detailed study.

In English, possessives appear in the same "slot" as demonstratives, so that they cannot appear together in a phrase:

*this my rose

*my this rose

*those Peter's friends

*Peter's those friends

In SC there is no such restriction; possessives appear after demonstratives:

ova moja ruža

*moja ova ruža

oni Petrovi prijatelji

*Petrovi oni prijatelji

The English-speaking student may well have difficulty even in understanding such constructions, since the way the same meaning is expressed in English is quite different:

this rose of mine

those friends of Peter's

Therefore, this difference between the languages should be pointed out and specially drilled.

Possessives usually precede numerals and adjectives, as they do in English:

mojih deset ruža
"my ten roses"

moje crvene ruže
"my red roses"

But they are also found after numerals:

deset mojih ruža

Here the meaning is not entirely clear. It could be "my ten roses" as before, or it could be "ten of my roses" meaning that I have more than ten.

Possessives seem to occur only after the number "one", not before:

jedan moj prijatelj

? moj jedan prijatelj

jedan Petrov prijatelj

? Petrov jedan prijatelj

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The meaning is never "my one friend" i.e. "my only friend"; the E equivalent is "a friend of mine (of Peter's),one of my (Peter's) friends".

In some cases a possessive can show up after an adjective. We cannot have

*crvene moje ruže
*"red my roses"

nor

*nova njegova kuća
*"new his house"

but it is possible to say

crvene Petrove ruže
"Peter's red roses"

nova Petrova kuća
"Peter's new house"

The order

Petrove crvene ruže

Petrova nova kuća

is, however, much more usual.

To sum up, we can say that except for possessives and the word "all" ("sav") the order of elements before the noun is fixed and similar to that of English. Elements of the noun phrase coming after the noun include genitives, prepositional phrases, and relative or complement clauses:

žena moga brata
"my brother's wife"

žena u plavom šeširu
"the woman in the blue hat"

žena o kojoj sam ti pričao
"the woman that I told you about"

uvjerenje da je zemlja okrugla
"the belief that the world is round"

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When more than one of these elements is present they come in the order given:

knjiga Lava Tolstoja u lijepom uvezu
"a book by Leo Tolstoy in a nice binding"

žena moga brata o kojoj sam ti pričao
"my brother's wife, who I told you about"

uvjerenje naprednih ljudi da je zemlja okrugla
"progressive people's belief that the world is round"

žena u plavom šeširu o kojoj sam ti pričao
"the woman in a blue hat who I told you about"

(Postojalo je) uvjerenje u izvjesnim krugovima da je zemlja okrugla.
"There was a belief in certain circles that the world was round".

...uvjerenje koje su izvjesni ljudi izražavali da je zemlja okrugla.
"...the belief which certain people expressed that the world was round."

As can be seen from the translations the order is the same in SC and English, and therefore we expect no particular difficulty for the student as far as the items after the noun are concerned.

Inversion within the noun phrase

There are, however, several situations in which the normal order of elements in the noun phrase is reversed.

1) Noun-adjective order is found in certain fixed expressions. Titles of rulers often have it: Aleksandar Makedonski, Ludvig Bavarski, Luj XIV (Četrnaesti), Ivan Grozni, Katarina Velika, Dušan Silni.

The English order is similar, whether the adjective is rendered by an adjective or a prepositional phrase: Louis the Fourteenth, Ivan the Terrible, Catherine the Great, Dushan the Strong, or Alexander of Macedon, Ludwig of Bavaria. Other examples are less systematic and will have to be learned one by one:

Kruh (naš) svagdanji, kruh nasušni "our daily bread", Kula Babilonska "the Tower of Babel",...

These are similar to (although somewhat more frequent than) English examples like time immemorial, the body politic.

Although the individual examples do not coincide in E and SC, they have the same somewhat archaic flavor in both languages.

2) Adjectives accompanied by complements such as prepositional phrases often follow the noun in both languages.

Kupio sam knjigu žutu od starosti.
I bought a book yellow with age.

These constructions have been well studied by V. Ivir, to whose article[1] we refer the reader.

3) Adjectives follow indefinite pronouns in both languages:

nešto neobično
something odd

Ivir's words "Serbo-Croatian learners of English will therefore have no difficulty in mastering the postnominal use of adjectives with indefinite pronouns, e.g. somebody young, something expensive, nothing new, everything necessary, etc."[2] (ibid., p. 72) hold equally well for the English-speaking learner of SC, who will naturally say netko mlad, nešto skupo, ništa novo, sve potrebno. Two small points may cause difficulty, however. First, it must be pointed out that only the indefinite form of the adjective can be used: netko mlad, not *netko mladi. Second, some adjectives, particularly in the Western variant of SC, can also appear in the genitive after a neuter pronoun in the nominative or accusative: nešto lijepoga as well as nešto lijepo, Šta ima novoga (nova)? as well as Šta ima novo? Since it is not yet known which adjectives can do this, the foreign student is well advised to stick to the nominative.

4) Vocative nouns are often followed by adjectives and possessives: Majko moja! Majko mila! Majko moja mila! This is true whether the vocative is being used to address someone or merely as an exclamation. A particular emotional effect is gained by using jedan after the noun:

Budalo jedna!	"You fool!"
Magare jedno!	"You donkey!"
Guske jedne!	"You silly geese!"

If adjectives are used, they come after jedan:

Magare jedno magarasto!
Stoko jedna grdna! "You ugly beast!"

5) In poetic language inversions of all sorts are frequent. Thus, in the following song:

Kad bi ove ruže male
Za bol srca moga znale
Pustile bi suzu koju
Da ublaže tugu moju.

"If these little roses
Knew about the pain in my heart
They would shed a tear or two
To allay my sadness."

we have adjective after noun (ruže male), possessive after noun (srca moga, tugu moju) demonstrative (or numeral?) (suzu koju), as well as object before verb when the informational structure does not require it (za bol... znale). Adjective after noun and object before verb are sometimes found in English poetry too, but orders of the other elements cannot usually be reversed.

II A prepositional phrase consists of a preposition plus a noun phrase or a preposition plus an adverb.

za moje studente
"for my students"

do sada
"until now"

The preposition always comes first. One exception in SC is "radi" "for the sake of" which can come before or after its noun phrase:

radi djece
"for the sake of the children"

or

djece radi

"Radi" normally comes before, as other prepositions do, and the foreign student can put it there safely in any sentence. If he finds difficulty in understanding an example where it follows the noun phrase comparison with the English preposition "notwithstanding" will be useful. "Notwithstanding" can either precede or follow:

notwithstanding your objection or

your objection notwithstanding

When two prepositions come together, their order is likewise fixed. This situation can arise when the prepositions do "up to", oko "about", and preko "over" are used before numbers to indicate approximate quantity:

> do stotinu ljudi
> "up to a hundred people"
>
> Doći će sa do stotinu ljudi.
> "He will come with up to a hundred people".
>
> oko tisuću gostiju
> "about one thousand guests"
>
> Primit ćemo do oko tisuću gostiju.
> "We will receive up to about a thousand guests".

Here the order is just as in English. However the "distributive" meaning, which in E is expressed by each either after the numeral + noun or somewhere else in the sentence:

> He gave the boys two apples each.
>
> The boys have each received two apples.

in SC is expressed with the preposition po before the numeral + noun:

> Dao je dječacima po dvije jabuke.
>
> Dječaci su dobili po dvije jabuke.

and so we have to describe its position with respect to other prepositions. It comes before do, oko, and preko which modify numbers:

> Dali su dječacima po oko dvadeset jabuka.
> "They gave the boys about twenty apples each".

but after all other prepositions:

> Došao je sa po dvije torbe u svakoj ruci.
> "He came with two bags in each hand."
>
> Intelektualci često rade na po dva mjesta.
> "Intellectuals often work in two places each".

III In an adjective phrase, the order is again fixed in both languages: an adverb comes before the adjective it modifies.

very quiet
vrlo tih

*quiet very
*tih vrlo

exceptionally	hard-working
izuzetno	marljivi

On the basis of this, we would not expect errors in students' SC. But they do exist:

*Ovi dva studenta su bili marljivi izuzetno. /TG/
Ova dva studenta su bila izuzetno marljiva.
"These two students were exceptionally hard-working".

Other modifying elements generally follow the adjective, but their position depends on where the adjective is in the sentence.

Prepositional phrases (and case-forms) usually follow in both languages:

This scientist is known { the world over.
throughout the country. }

Ovaj naučnik je poznat { širom svijeta.
po cijeloj zemlji. }

Taj umjetnik, zahvalan gradu na ukazanoj pomoći, ustupio je svoje slike gradskom muzeju.
The artist, grateful to the city for its assistance, donated his pictures to the city museum.

In SC the adjective phrase can be moved to precede the noun it modifies, and all other elements have to come before the adjective:

Ovaj { širom svijeta
po cijeloj zemlji } poznati naučnik

Taj gradu zahvalni umjetnik

Such phrases are not possible in English:

*This the world over known scientist

*This known the world over scientist

*The to the city grateful artist

*The grateful to the city artist

We can expect, therefore, that E-speaking students of SC will have difficulties in learning to use this pattern, and even in understanding it when they run across it in texts. A useful type of exercise would be the sort of transformation shown in the examples: taking an adjective phrase and putting it before a noun, with appropriate word-order changes.

IV If by an adverb phrase we mean an adverb and its modifiers, we can make the same statement as for adjective phrases: an adverb modifying the main adverb comes before it in both languages.

very quickly
veoma brzo

*quickly very
*brzo veoma

Other modifiers come after the adverb, as they come after the adjective in an adjective phrase.

Marko trči brzo poput strijele.
Marko runs (as) quickly as an arrow.

cf.

Marko je brz poput strijele.
Marko is quick as an arrow.

Plakao je gorko kao dijete.
He cried (as) bitterly as a child.

Inverting the order gives the effect of poetic style in SC:

Plakao je kao dijete gorko.

NOTES

1. V. Ivir, "Attributive Patterns for English Adjectives and Their Contrastive Correspondents in Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, Reports 6, Zagreb, 1972, pp. 56-84.

2. Ibid., p. 72

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APPENDIX K

WORD ORDER
(Error Analysis)

Anuška Nakić

Anuška Nakić

WORD ORDER
(Error Analysis)

In his article "Theme-Rheme Structure and Word Order for Learners of SC", W. Browne states that word order is grammatical in English, while in SC it depends on the informational structure of the sentence. This does not mean that informational structure never influences word order in E:

> In our bathroom it's always crowded just like in Yugoslav buses.
>
> Trapped in these enormous tubes is the river Volta. (from a description of a dam)

The underlined parts of the sentence are themes, and can come in first place although strictly grammatical word order (S + V + O + Adv.) would have put them elsewhere.

There are also situations in which SC acts like a language with grammatical word order:

> Koji jezik učite? -- Učimo engleski jezik.
> "What language are you studying? -- We're studying the English language."

Here engleski is the rheme, but since the SC adjective regularly comes before the noun, it remains there even when the rules of informational structure would put it at the end:

> *Učimo jezik engleski.

Similarly, within the theme or within the rheme we may come upon units with fixed order which does not depend on informational structure.

> *Komadi u ovoj knjizi su pisani preko sedam godina i po. / NN /
> Komadi u ovoj knjizi su napisani u razdoblju od sedam i po godina.
> The plays in this book were written over a period of seven and a half years.

In spite of the fact that one can say godina i po "a year and a half", all parts of a compound numeral must come together, as in sedam i po (godina) "seven and a half (years)". That is, the order within the noun phrase sedam i po godina is fixed.

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In general, word order in SC is fixed within phrases: the constituents of a noun phrase, an adjective phrase, an adverb phrase, or a prepositional phrase follow a particular grammatical order. But the main constituents of the sentence (subject, main verb, object, adverbial phrases) can appear in different relative orders. The general principles which this depends on are the principles of information structure. The theme, the known element or starting point, comes in first place, and the new information, the rheme, comes second. Less prominent parts come first. This holds not only for the order of theme and rheme (T + R) but also for the order of elements within the rheme (r + R).

Jutarnji vlak za Beograd polazi u 6 sati. Tim vlakom
T r R T
često putuju poslovni ljudi.
r r R

The above rules about the order of T and R hold good when the parts of a sentence are not under emphasis. Under emphasis, this order can be reversed: R + T; R + r. Here is an example where the word order is correct if we assume that there is emphasis, but incorrect if there is none:

*. . . ali skoro sam naučila da nije to tako lako. /SY/
. . . but soon I learned that it is not so simple.

The verb nije "is not" can come before its subject to "that, it" only if emphasized. In the given context ("At first I wanted to be with Yugoslav students all the time, but soon I learned that that is not so simple") there is no reason to suppose special emphasis, and so the word order must be:

. . . ali uskoro sam naučila da to nije tako lako.

In spoken SC, one frequently hears the rheme put before (part of) the theme, even without special emphasis: RT or TRT. But we cannot recommend this order to the beginning student, for two reasons. First, it is extremely difficult to state the conditions under which this order is possible, or the elements before which the rheme can be put. Second, this order is not frequently used in normal written style. What is more, when a spoken sentence with TRT or RT is written down, it is immediately perceived as a word-order mistake.

Kaj ti u Samobor ideš svaki dan? !
Do you really go to Samobor (to Samobor = rheme) every day? !

The same speaker who pronounced this sentence (with "kaj" from Zagreb dialect) told us that she would never write it down in that form, but only as:

Zar ti svaki dan ideš u Samobor?

Contrast is another important factor in word order. The presence of contrast makes it possible for certain words (e.g. personal pronouns), whose normal low degree of prominence is inherent, to become prominent. They can then occupy positions corresponding to their informational function in the sentence. This is specially clear with the personal pronouns and auxiliary verbs, because they have two sets of forms. Ga "him" in

Moram ga vidjeti.
"I have to see him."

is an enclitic and must come in second position in the sentence. If accented because of contrast or emphasis, it takes the form njega, and njega can come in any position in the sentence:

Moram vidjeti njega. (T + T + R)

Njega moram vidjeti. (R + T + T: possible reversal of order under emphasis)

Other words having inherent low prominence include nešto, negdje, nekako, nekad, tu, ovdje, jučer, danas, sutra, ovo, to, sad, često, stalno. As we will see in the examples below, putting them last in the sentence when they do not have special prominence is a common error made by the E-speaking student. They usually do not come last even when they are given special prominence.

On stalno nešto gundja.
He's always complaining about something.

I Inversion of the Subject

A. Our students' most frequent word-order mistakes were the result of applying E word-order rules to SC. Thus inversion of the subject in direct questions is probably due to the E pattern. The order predicate-subject is not impossible in SC direct questions, but it cannot be applied in every case, since order depends on the informational structure of the sentence whether it is a question or not.

*Kako zna čovjek da on stariji nego je bio prije? /SY/
Kako čovjek zna da je stariji nego što je bio prije?
How does a man know that he is older than he was before?

*Kako može primijetiti čovjek prolaz godina? /SY/
Kako može čovjek (kako čovjek može) primijetiti prolaženje godina?
How can a man observe the passage of years?

In the second example the E model is not followed exactly.

If it had been, we would have gotten Kako može čovjek. . . "How--can--a man. . ." which would be acceptable since primijetiti "observe" carries the main informational load in the verbal phrase In the first example, Kako zna čovjek. . . "How--knows--a man. . ." is not possible, since čovjek does not carry more information than zna. Similarly in the following examples:

*Zašto traži Stanko slobodnu sobu od gazdarice? /BB/
Zašto Stanko traži slobodnu sobu kod gazdarice?
Why is Stanko asking the landlady for a free room?

*Kako predstavi Stanko sebe gazdarici? /BB/
Kako se Stanko predstavlja gazdarici?
How does Stanko introduce himself to the landlady?

B. Students sometimes invert the subject and verb in sentences which would not call for inversion in E. This is presumably because they have learned that the subject need not always be in first place but have not learned when it need not be. In the following examples, such inversion leads to an interpretation which the surrounding context does not justify: either 1. the subject becomes the rheme (T + R) or 2. the verb remains the rheme, but gets emphatic stress (R + T).

*. . . da je jelo danas previše mastno i brže se debeli čovjek. /SY/
. . . da je jelo danas previše masno i čovjek se brže deblja.
. . . that food today is too greasy and one gets fat faster.

In this sentence there is no reason to make the verb emphatic and čovjek "a man", "one" is certainly not the focus of information. Similarly in the following sentences.

*Onda se čudio Ivo čiji je rodjendan bio. /DD/
Onda se Ivo pitao čiji je rodjendan.
Then Ivo wondered whose birthday it was.

*Čudila se Vera da li su Stanko i Ana nešto slavili. /DD/
Vera se pitala da li Stanko i Ana nešto slave.
Vera wondered if Stanko and Ana were celebrating something.

*. . . ali skoro sam naučila da nije to tako lako. /SY/
. . . ali uskoro sam naučila da to nije tako lako.
. . . but soon I learned that it is not so simple.

In the last sentence inversion might be the result of maintaining the position the positive form would have: da je to. . . , where je, as an enclitic, must come in second position in the clause without regard to informational-structure rules.

II. Word order in the group Verb + Object

A. In SC, when the object appears before the verb, either 1) the verb becomes the most prominent part of the rheme or 2) the object gets an emphatic stress. In the following examples there is no justification for either of these.

*Ivo je telefon podizao i rekao da je bio tamo. /DD/
Ivo je podigao telefon i rekao da je tamo.
Ivo picked up the phone and said that he was there.

*Vera je Anu pitala da li su djeca još bili kod djeda i bake. /DD/
Vera je pitala Anu da li su djeca još kod djeda i bake.
Vera asked Ana if the children were still at their grandfather and grandmother's.

*Svaki dan sam svoj bicikl vozio od moje kuće do sveučilišta. /BB/
Svaki dan sam vozio bicikl od kuće do sveučilišta.
Every day I rode my bicycle from my house to the university.

*Ana je odgovorila ju da je 40 godina ima. /DD/
Ana je odgovorila da ima 40 godina.
Ana answered her that he was 40.

B. Students sometimes put the object after the verb when it should come before:

*O, ona je lošije. Moramo raditi nešto. /FF/
Moramo nešto učiniti.
We have to do something.

In this example, the object is a pronoun which can bear the load of final position only under contrastive stress (here unjustified) or if some preceding element is emphasized. (Moramo učiniti nešto.) Nešto "something" could come in final position in the meaning "at least something" as opposed to ništa meaning "nothing". The pronoun ništa "nothing" behaves differently. As its contrastive stress is inherent it can come in final position.

as well as:
Ne trebamo učiniti ništa.
Ne trebamo ništa učiniti.
We don't have to do anything.

Ništa "nothing" can have the strongest stress in the sentence no matter which place it comes in.

*Ja nisam primijetila to ali ne pijem često martine. /SY/
Ja to nisam primijetila, ali ja ne pijem često martini.
I didn't notice that (it) but I don't drink Martinis often.

In this sentence to refers to something already known and is presumably part of the theme, so it comes before the rheme nisam primijetila "didn't notice". But in any case to is a word with inherent low prominence and therefore cannot come at the end. According to the results of our second test English speakers usually do not have problems with the position of anaphoric to "that, it". Of 34 subjects who translated the English sentence:
... did you tell him you were going to Ljubljana tomorrow? Yes, I did but he knew it already., none put the object at the end. Either they left it out (17 subjects), which is also possible in the given context, or they put it somewhere near the beginning of the sentence: ali mislim da je to već znao (6 subjects), (probably the best choice), ali mislim da je već to znao (5 subjects), etc.

III Adverbials

Our analysis shows that students most frequently put adverbials in the place where they would be in English. This can lead to errors when the adverbials are words with inherent low prominence or are for other reasons unaccented; for in SC such adverbials cannot normally come in final position while in E they can. If adverbials are not words of low prominence they obey theme-rheme structure rules in SC. Violating these rules can also lead to errors. See the example with prošlog tjedna below.

A. Time Adverbials

*Oh, moram da prekinem sad. /IS/
Oh, moram sad prekinuti.
Oh, I have to stop now.

*Vlakovi prolaze ranje sada i prolaze brže. /SY/
Vlakovi sada prolaze ranije i voze brže.
Trains start earlier now and go faster.

*Vi idete zajedno negdje katkada. /BMc/
Vi katkada idete negdje zajedno.
Sometimes you go somewhere together.

* Na prvom, htjela sam biti sa Jugoslavenim studentima stalno, ali... /SY/
Ispočetka sam željela biti stalno s jugoslavenskim studentima, ali... or ispočetka sam stalno...
At first I wanted to be with Yugoslav students all the time.

or: I always wanted to be with Yugoslav students.

* Moji znanci iz Beograda su bili ovdje prošlog tjedna. Skuhao sam im kavu ali ne znam da li im je prijala.

/Test 2: Portland all 13, Kansas 20 out of 21/:

Prošlog tjedna ovdje su bili moji znanci iz Beograda. Skuhao sam im kavu ali ne znam da li im je prijala.
My acquaintences from Beograd were here last week. I made them some coffee, but I don't know if they liked it.

The adverbials which can come in front of the main verb in E, only exceptionally occupy final position in our students' translations:

* Marko i ja imamo vrt i mi radimo vani često. /M/
Marko i ja imamo vrt i često radimo vani.
Marko and I have a garden and we often work outside. (often)

The students never put the adverb uvijek "always" at the end. In the following example which was translated by 34 subjects none of them chose final position for uvijek:

Linguistics will always be important...

The best and the most frequent solution (20) was:

Lingvistika će uvijek biti važna.

Then come the variants:

Lingvistika će biti uvijek važna. (6)

Lingvistika uvijek će biti važna. (5)

etc.

In analysing the adverbs it will be necessary to pay attention to cases which in general agree with E: uvijek "always", and those which do not entirely agree: sada "now". In some cases we cannot speak of similarity or difference. For example, prošlog tjedna "last week" depends on the informational structure of the sentence unlike uvijek, sada whose postition is comparatively fixed.

B. Place Adverbials

* Idem često u restauraciju na večeru ovdje,
ali u Americi... /SY/
Ovdje idem često na večeru u restoran, ali u
Americi...
I often have supper in restaurants here, but
in America... /Test3 : Kansas 11 out of 15/

* Da imam svoju violinu ovdje, svirala bih ti
sonatu točno sada. /Test3 : Kansas 11 out of 15/
Da imam ovdje svoju violinu, odsvirala bih ti
sada sonatu.
If I had my violin here, I'd play you a sonata
right now.

Although we have two different ovdje in the above sentences (one is under contrastive stress, ovdje vs. u Americi, "here vs. in America", the other is unstressed) our subjects give them the same position, that of E here.
The unstressed ovdje has to come somewhere before the rheme /svoju violinu/. Contrasted elements come at the beginning of their respective sentence or else at the end of their sentences. Ovdje, even when under contrastive stress, tends not to come at the end. This is probably connected with its inherent low prominence.

The position of the English adverb is likewise kept in the following example:

*... pa je sada teškoća da hoda on nekamo. /SY/
... pa mu je sada teško da bilo kamo ide.
... it's hard for him to go anywhere.

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APPENDIX L

SERBO-CROATIAN ENCLITICS FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING LEARNERS

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SERBO-CROATIAN ENCLITICS FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING LEARNERS

Certain Serbo-Croatian personal pronouns, particles, and verb forms are always unaccented and follow different word-order rules than other words in the sentence do. They cannot stand by themselves, but always require a preceding accented word to lean or "incline" on: hence their name "enclitics". There is not just one rule governing their use in sentences, but several rules which form a system. Violating any one of the rules can give an incorrect SC sentence, so that they all have to be mastered by the learner of SC. Unfortunately, every presentation of the rules so far in SC grammars and textbooks has been incomplete or even wrong.[1] This paper is an attempt to fill the gap.

We can expect the enclitics to be more difficult for English-speaking students than, say, for French-speakers, because (unlike French, Spanish, and many other languages) English has nothing really corresponding to the unaccented enclitic forms with their special rules. English does have special unaccented forms of pronouns, verbs, and the particle not (written as contractions: I'd, he'll, "didja", can't), but there are not separate rules for placing these forms in the sentence the way there are in SC. Another difference is that E contracted forms are used mainly in conversational style, while SC enclitics must be used in all styles, both spoken and written, conversational and formal.

As far as possible, we will illustrate our rules by giving actual incorrect sentences produced by English-speaking learners of SC (identified by their initials, such as /AA/). The correct form of each sentence will always be given too.

The rules for SC enclitics apply to simple sentences (not containing more than one subject and predicate) and to clauses that are joined together to make a complex or compound sentence. From now on, when we say "clause" we will mean simple sentences as well.

1. All the enclitics in a clause must come together; we say that they form an enclitic group. Here are some examples where this rule has not been followed:

(1-1) *Onda se vratit ću na fakultet u Minesoti. /TL/

The mark * indicates an ungrammatical (incorrectly formed) sentence. The correct form is:

Onda ću se vratiti na fakultet u Minesotu.
"Then I will go back to college in Minnesota."

(1-2) *...pa onda se oblačio sam. /KA/
...pa sam se zatim oblačio.
"And then I used to get dressed."

(1-3) *...jer je znao da je mogao me pobjediti. /BB/
...jer je znao da me je mogao pobijediti.
"For he knew that he could have defeated me."

(1-4) *da li ste rekli mu da idete sutra u Ljubljanu? /SF/
da li ste mu rekli da idete sutra u Ljubljanu?
"Did you tell him that you were going to Ljubljana
tomorrow?"

2. The enclitics in the enclitic group must be arranged in the proper order. If they are not, the result is grammatically unacceptable:

(2-1) *Svidja se mi pjevanje. /KA/
Svidja mi se pjevanje.
"I like singing."

(If the meaning is "I like to sing (myself)", then this should be Volim pjevati.)

(2-2) *Katkad sam učio u biblioteci i kasnije se sam
vračao kući. /KA/
...a zatim sam se vraćao kući.
"I used to study in the library sometimes and
afterwards I would go back home."

(2-3) *Bilo je mi jako zabavno. /BB/
Bilo mi je jako zabavno.
"It was lots of fun for me."

(2-4) *...znam da je mu zbog toga život sretniji. /MP/
...znam da mu je zbog toga život sretniji.
"I know that his life is happier because of that."

(2-5) *Tražao te sam. /CC/
Tražio sam te.
"I was looking for you."

(2-6) *Vera je zahvalila Ani na pozivu i rekla je joj
da je dolazila. /DD/
Vera je zahvalila Ani na pozivu i rekla joj je
da dolazi.
"Vera thanked Ana for the invitation and told her
that she was coming."

Here is a list of the enclitics, showing the order in which they come in the enclitic group. In parentheses we give the full form corresponding to each enclitic. (Full forms do not follow the same rules that enclitics do. Their use will be explained later.) Not all these enclitics will occur in any one enclitic group, but those that do must come in the proper relative order.

First in the group is the particle *li*, used for making yes-no questions. The finite verb form (the one taking person endings) is put first in the clause, and *li* comes right after it. For example, the question from

Marko studira medicinu.
"Marko is studying medicine."

is:

Studira li Marko medicinu?
"Is Marko studying medicine?"

Ana želi ostati kod roditelja.
"Ana wants to stay at her parents'."

gives the question

Želi li Ana ostati kod roditelja?
"Does Ana want to stay at her parents'?"

and not

*Ostati li Ana želi...

bacause *želi*[2], and not the infinitive *ostati*, is the finite verb form.

(The full form corresponding to *li* is *da li*. *Da li* comes at the beginning of the clause and does not cause inversion of the finite verb; for example *Da li Ana želi ostati kod roditelja?*[3])

Second are the auxiliary verbs *ću* (for making the future tense), *bih* (for the conditional), and *sam* (for the past tense or "perfekt"). *Sam* is also the present tense of *biti* "to be".

1. sg.	ću	"I will"	(full form hoću)
2. sg.	ćeš	"you will"	(hoćeš)
3. sg.	će	"he, she, it will"	(hoće)
1. pl.	ćemo	"we will"	(hoćemo)
2. pl.	ćete	"you will"	(hoćete)
3. pl.	će	"they will"	(hoće)

1. sg.	bih	"I would"	(full form bȉh:
2. sg.	bi		(bȉ) like *bih* but
3. sg.	bi		(bȉ) accented)
1. pl.	bismo		(bȉsmo)
2. pl.	biste		(bȉste)
3. pl.	bi		(bî)

Instead of *bih*, *bismo*, and *biste*, Serbo-Croatian speakers often say *bi* for both the enclitics and the full forms; but this is considered not to be correct in the standard language.

1. sg.	sam	"I am"	(full form jesam)
2. sg.	si		(jesi)
3. sg.	----------	----------	----------

1. pl.	smo	(jesmo)
2. pl.	ste	(jeste)
3. pl.	su	(jesu)

One line has been left blank. The 3rd person singular of *sam* is *je*, but it does not come in this position; it comes at the end, after all the other enclitics. This is why example (2-5), "I was looking for you", is *Tražio sam te*, but "He was loooking for you" would be *Tražio te je*. And *rekla si joj* "You told her" is the correct order, but in the 3rd person it has to be *Rekla joj je*, as in example (2-6).

Third: the dative-case forms of the personal pronouns.

1. sg.		mi	"to me"	(full form meni)
2. sg.		ti		(tebi)
3. sg.	m.& n.	mu		(njemu)
3. sg.	fem.	joj		(njoj)
1. pl.		nam		(nama)
2. pl.		vam		(vama)
3. pl.	m.n.f.	im		(njima)

An example of these datives coming after *li*:

> Daješ *li joj* poklone? (*Daješ *joj li* poklone?)
> "Do you give her presents?"

We have just given an example of datives following auxiliary verbs: *rekla si joj*. Some others:

> Oni *su mi* dali poklon. (*Oni *mi su* dali poklon.)
> "They gave me a present."
>
> Poslat *ćemo vam* novac.
> "We'll send you the money."
>
> Mogli *bismo mu* pomoći.
> "We could help him".

Fourth come the accusatives and genitives of the personal pronouns.

1. sg.		me	"me"	(full form mene)
2. sg.		te		(tebe)
3. sg.	m. & n.	ga		(njega)
3. sg.	fem.	je (or ju)		(nju acc., nje gen.)
1. pl.		nas		(nâs - accented)
2. pl.		vas		(vâs)
3. pl.	m.n.f.	ih		(njih)

The form *ju* is used before the auxiliary verb *je*; that is, *ju je*, not **je je*. (*Ju* in place of *je* is also frequently heard outside this position, especially in Zagreb speech.)

Example showing _li_ comes before these pronouns:

Poznaješ _li ga_? (*Poznaješ _ga li_?)
"Do you know him?"

Auxiliary verbs before these pronouns: (2-5) and

Sutra _ću ga_ vidjeti. (*Sutra _ga ću_ vidjeti.)
"I'll see him tomorrow."

Datives before accusatives:

(2-7) *Ja _ću ih joj_ dati kad je vidim. /WS/
Ja ću joj ih dati kad je vidim.
"I'll give them to her when I seek her."

Likewise:

Pročitaj _mi ga_! (*Pročitaj _ga mi_!)
"Read it to me."

Fifth in order is _se_, which is both the accusative of the reflexive pronoun ("myself, yourself, oneself, etc.") and a particle used with certain verbs and constructions. When it is a form of the reflexive pronoun, it corresponds to the full form _sebe_; as a particle, it has no corresponding full form. Thus the verb _desiti se_ "happen" always has _se_, never _sebe_; and the same is true of the "impersonal" construction with _se_:

Ovdje se mnogo radi.
"One works a lot here, people work a lot here."

where _se_ is used with the verb to indicate that the subject of the verb is unspecified persons of people in general.

Example of order _li_ -- _se_:

Bojiš _li se_? (*Bojiš _se li_?)
"Are you afraid?"

Radi _li se_? (*Radi _se li_?)
"Are people working? Are you people here working?"

Auxiliary verb -- _se_: see (2-2). Also:

Mi _smo se_ kupali. (*Mi _se smo_ kupali.)
"We bathed, we went swimming."

Marko _će se_ oženiti u septembru. (*Marko _se će_..)
"Marko will get married in September."

Dative enclitic -- _se_:

(2-8) *...ali ne znam je li *se im* svidjala. /FS/
...ali ne znam da li *im se* svidjala (je li im se svidjala).
"But I don't know if they liked it."

More examples: (2-1) and

Predstavio *mi se*. (*Predstavio *se mi*.)
"He introduced himself to me."

Djeca *bi nam se* smijala. (*Djeca *bi se nam*...)
"The children would laugh at us."

Genitive enclitic -- *se*:

Vera *te se* boji. (*Vera *se te* boji.)
"Vera is afraid of you."

Lišit *će ga se*. (*Lišit *će se ga*.)
"He will deprive himself of it."

In the standard language, we don't have accusative enclitics together with *se*. But there is a form of the *se*-impersonal construction, frequently found in Croatian speech and literature even though not considered correct, which has the two together:

veterani...su...uvidjeli, da ih se vara (Krleža)
"The veterans realized that people were fooling them."

and here we can see that the accusative enclitics come before *se* as well.[5]

Last in the enclitic group is the 3rd person singular verb form *je* (corresponding full form *jest* or *jeste*, but *jȅ* if used before *li*). *Je* does not occur together with other auxiliary verb forms (*ću*, *bih* etc.). We have already given examples of *je* coming after dative, genitive, and accusative enclitics:

Rekla joj je.

Nekoliko ih je došlo. (footnote 4)

Tražio te je.

When *se* and this *je* come together, *je* follows:

Smijala se je. (*Smijala je se.)
"She laughed."

But usually a rule is applied which removes *je* after *se*: se + je = se.[6] For example:

Smijala se.

Ivan se bojao mraka (= Ivan se je bojao mraka.)
"Ivan was afraid of the dark."

Order of the enclitics:

1	2	3	4	5	6
li	auxil. verbs *ću*... *bih*... *sam*... (but not *je*)	dat. pron. *mi*, *ti* ...	accus. or gen. pron. *me*, *te* ...	*se*	auxil. verb *je*

3. There are several rules for where the enclitic group comes in the clause or sentence. They all contain the idea of *second position*: the enclitic group must come after some element in the clause. Students find this point easy to learn: we don't find mistakes with the enclitics coming at the very beginning of a sentence, like

*Me gledaju. *Su ga jučer vidjeli.

instead of

Gledaju me. Jučer su ga vidjeli.
"They are looking at me." "They saw him yesterday."

But the individual rules for placing the enclitic group cause more difficulty, and we often find mistakes like:

(3-1) *Sada samo se smijem i kažem:... /TL/
Sada se samo smijem i kažem:...
"Now I only laugh and say:..."

(3-2) *Zašto Stanku potrebna je soba? /BB/
Zašto je Stanku potrebna soba?
"Why does Stanko need a room?"

(3-3) *Sada mislim da u septembru ću se oženiti. /J/
...da ću se oženiti u septembru.
"Now I think I'll get married in September."

We will take up the rules one by one, explaining the observed mistakes as we go.

Usually the enclitic group comes after the first element in the clause. This element can be a single word:

Sestra će doći sutra. (*Sestra doći će sutra.)
"(My) sister will come tomorrow."
Sutra će doći sestra. (*Sutra doći će sestra.)

Now we can see trouble with (3-1). Some other examples:[6a]

(3-4) *Tada jako sam se ljutila. /TL/
Tada sam se jako ljutila.
"Then I was very mad."

(3-5) *On trebat će knjigu...
On će trebati knjigu.
"He'll need a book."

(3-6) *Ujutro Mladen će ići u školu.../AH/
Ujutro će Mladen ići u školu.
"In the morning, Mladen will go to school."

A preposition and the word after it are treated as one single word, and the enclitics follow:

U utorak će doći sastra. (*U utorak doći će sestra.)
"(My) sister will come on Tuesday."

Examples:

(3-7) *Zbog toga došao sam u Jugoslaviju. /JB/
Zbog toga sam došao u Jugoslaviju.
"Because of that I came to Yugoslavia. That's why I came to Yugoslavia."

(3-8) *U školi učit će bez knjige. /AH/
U školi će učiti bez knjige.
"In school he'll study without a book."

Since the preposition is not treated as a word by itself, we do not get *Zbog sam toga..., *U će školi...

I, a, and ni also don't count as separate words. So we never have *i ste, *a mi se, etc. Likewise ne + verb count as one word:

(3-9) *ne ih vidim /SY/
ne vidim ih
"I don't see them"

(3-1o) *Ja ne se sjećam. /SY/
Ja se ne sjećam.
"I don't remember."

_I_ + _ne_ + verb, accordingly, acts as a single word:

(3-11) *...ljudi postaju nervozni i neudobni i me ne gledaju. /TL/
...ljudi postaju nervozni, osjećaju se neugodno i ne gledaju me.
"People get nervous and uncomfortable and don't look at me."

Here the first word of the last clause is _i ne gledaju_, and the enclitic has to come after it.

_Ne_ and the verb, in fact, form a single unit in the sentence, and can never be divided by enclitics or anything else. This rule is a frequent source of errors, as in (3-9) and (3-1o); especially because other languages that the learner may have studied previously do put enclitics between negation and verb, e.g. French _Je ne les vois pas_, Spanish _No los veo_.

The _first element in the clause_, after which the enclitic group is put, can also be a _phrase_ (two or more words making one grammatical unit). For example, the subject:

Moja sestra će doći u utorak.
"My sister will come on Tuesday."

Moja mladja sestra će doći u utorak.
"My younger sister will come on Tuesday."

Lav Tolstoj je veliki ruski pisac.
"Leo Tolstoi is a great Russian writer."

The object:

Sovjetske goste je primio i predsjednik Republike Austrije Jonas.
"The President of the Republic of Austria, Mr. Jonas, also received the Soviet guests."

An adverbial phrase:

Prošle godine su otvorili ugostiteljsku školu.
"Last year they opened a hotel-and-catering school."

In all these examples, it would also be possible for the enclitics to come after the first _word_:

Moja će sestra doći u utorak.

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Moja će mladja sestra doći u utorak.

Lav je Tolstoj veliki ruski pisac.

Sovjetske je goste primio...

Prošle su godine otvorili ugostiteljsku školu.

The choice between "first word" and "first phrase" in placement of enclitics is often a matter of individual taste, and different speakers and writers may express different preferences. In general it is more old-fashioned and literary to break up a phrase by putting the enclitics after the first word. This is especially true when a name is broken up, as in Lav je Tolstoj, or when there are more than one enclitic: a sentence like

Lav bi te se Tolstoj sigurno uplašio.
"Leo Tolstoi would certainly be frightened of you."

would be quite unusual. In everyday and conversational style, enclitics are more likely to be put after the whole phrase.

Let's consider again what is wrong with (3-1). The enclitic se is not after sada, the first word, and it is not after the first phrase either, since sada "now" and samo "only" don't go together to make a phrase in this sentence.

We will see, however, that in some situations the enclitics must come after the first word; the option of putting them after the first phrase is not open.

If the clause begins with a clause-introducer, the enclitics must come right after this element: no other position in the clause is possible. The clause-introducers include subordinating conjunctions, relative words, interrogative words, and a few other conjunctions. This rule is bound to be a problem for English speakers, because English clause-introducers have no such effects on the placement of words in the sentence. The most frequent mistakes made by learners are with the subordinating conjunction da, since this is the most frequent clause-introducer[6b]:

(3-12) *Mama odgovara da one su u ormaru. /AH/
Mama odgovara da su one u ormaru.
"Mama answers that they are in the wardrobe."

Of course, the same clause without da would have the order

One su u ormaru.

But when da is added, the order must be changed. Other examples:

(3-13) *Činio mi se *da* bila *je* to zemlja gdje mogu živjeti /MB/
Činilo mi se da je to zemlja gdje mogu živjeti.
"It seemed to me that that was a country where I could live."

(3-14) *Činilo mi se *da* fotografije...*su* naročito lijepe. /PH/
Činilo mi se *da su* fotografije...naročito lijepe.
"It seemed to me that the photographs were specially beautiful."

Other subordinating conjunctions act the same way. For example, *što*:

Drago mi je *što vas* vidim opet medju nama. (*što vidim vas)
"I'm glad to see you among us again."

Ako:

Ako ga slučajno vidiš, nazovi me. (*Ako slučajno ga vidiš, *Ako slučajno vidiš ga)
"If by chance you see him, call me."

Prije nego što:

(3-15) *Prije nego što američki je kritičar...bio uhapšen... /TB/
Prije nego što je američki kritičar...bio uhapšen...
"Before the American critic was arrested...."

The writer of this sentence has learned the rule about putting enclitics after the first word of the sentence, but does not know that *prije nego što* is treated as a part of the sentence too and must have enclitics directly after it.

Relative pronouns and other relative words also give trouble to the English-speaking learner, for the same reason: he tends to leave the enclitics where they'd be in the clause if the relative word were not there.

(3-16) *I za njega koji lično me ne pozna... /MP/
I za njega, koji me lično ne poznaje,...
"And for him, who does not know me personally,.."

(Without *koji*, we would indeed have the order

Lično me ne poznaje.)

(3-17) *Kad bila sam mala... /PH/
Kad sam bila mala...
"When I was little..."

(Cf. *Bila sam mala*.)

Interrogative words, too, require the enclitics directly after them. In very simple sentences with a subject and an auxiliary verb, such as

Marko je otputovao. "Marko left."

learners arrive at the correct question word-order without trouble:

Kad je Marko otputovao? "When did Marko leave?"
Zašto je Marko otputovao? "Why did Marko leave?"

Putting the auxiliary verb before the subject reminds them of the inversion of subject and auxiliary in English. More complicated sentences, with more enclitics or more other elements, cause difficulties:

Marko ti ih je poslao. "Marko sent them to you."

Kada ti ih je Marko poslao?
"When did Marko send them to you?"

Odakle ti ih je Marko poslao?
"From where did Marko send them to you?"

Da li ti ih je Marko poslao?
"Did Marko send them to you?"

See (3-2). Here is another example with the interrogative da li:

(3-18) *Da li vi se sječate to? /JB/
Da li se vi toga sjećate?
"Do you remember that?"

In SC the interrogative does not always form a phrase with the word(s) that it governs. We can see this in questions like

Koliko imate godina?
"How old are you? (Literally: how many years do you have?)"

where the unit koliko godina can be broken up by moving only koliko to the front of the clause but leaving godina in object position, after the verb. This is why it is preferable to ask

Koje su boje gradski autobusi u Jugoslaviji?
"What color (literally: of what color) are city busses in Yugoslavia?"

rather than

Koje boje su gradski autobusi u Jugoslaviji?

The interrogative koje does not form a tightly knit phrase with boje, and so the preferred place for the clitics is right after the interrogative word koje (although the other position, after koje boje, is also possible).

Other conjunctions that require the enclitics immediately after them include niti "neither, nor", and nego and već in the meaning "but" (used after a negative clause):

> Niti ga znam niti sam ga ikad vidio. (*niti ikad sam ga...)
> "I neither know him nor have I ever seen him."
> Nisam bio kod njega nego (or već) smo se sreli na ulici. (*nego sreli smo se)
> "I wasn't at his house but we met on the street."

Unfortunately, we can't make a rule that all conjunctions require the enclitics to come after them. We have already seen that i, a, and ni cannot be followed by enclitics, because they don't count as separate words. Dakle and prema tome "therefore, so, hence" do not count for enclitic placement. At the beginning of a sentence they are followed by a pause (shown by a comma); then the sentence starts "over again", with the enclitics in the proper place in it.

(3-19) *Dakle su pozvali mnogo prijatelja i znanaca na ručak. /RM/
Dakle, pozvali su mnogo...
"So they have invited a lot of friends and acquaintances to lunch."

Ali, ili, and jer optionallly take the enclitics after them.

> Marko je danas počeo raditi ali je pitanje / ali pitanje je da li će ostati.
> "Marko started working today but it's a question whether he'll stay."

Pa and also ali, behave differently in different meanings. When it means "and, and then, and so", pa is followed by the enclitics:

> Pojeli smo sav kruh pa sam otišao da kupim još.
> *Pojeli smo sav kruh pa otišao sam...
> "We ate up all the bread so I went to buy more."

But as an interjection, in objecting to something, pa and ali do not count and are not followed by enclitics:

Zašto nisi kupio voće? -- Ali, kupio sam jabuke.
*Ali sam kupio jabuke.
Pa, kupio sam jabuke.
*Pa sam kupio jabuke.

"Why didn't you buy fruit?" "But, I bought apples."

If a clause begins with a verb, or with a form of "to be" plus a predicate (predicate noun, predicate adjective, participle, adverb, prepositional phrase), the enclitics come after the first word. Here the alternative of putting them after a whole phrase is not open.

Nastala je gužva. "There was a big hassle."	*Nastala gužva je.
Doći će uskoro i Marija. "Mary will come soon too."	*Doći uskoro će i Marija.
Bio sam mu rekao da... "I had told him that.."	*Bio rekao sam mu da..
Dao mi je članak. "He gave me an article."	*Dao članak mi je.
Žele me vidjeti sutra. "They want to see me tomorrow."	*Žele vidjeti me sutra.
Bio je odličan student. "He was an excellent student."	*Bio odličan student je.

In this position when an adjective modifies a noun, or an adverb modifies an adjective, the two together form a phrase, and the enclitics, again, must come after the first word of the phrase:

Odličan je student. "He is an excellent student."	*Odličan student je.
Jako si mi dosadan. "You're very boring (to me)."	*Jako dosadan si mi.
Jako mi je dosadna njegova posljednja knjiga. "His last book is very boring (to me)."	*Jako dosadna mi je...

As we have already seen, a preposition forms a single unit with the word after it, and does not count as a separate word itself. Thus the enclitics do not go directly after a preposition, but after the first preposition+word unit:

U sobi su. "They're in the room."	*U su sobi.
U drugoj su sobi. "They're in the other room."	*U drugoj sobi su.

If a clause has a number of words before the verb (or predicate), the enclitics can be put after the first word of the verb (predicate) instead of after the first element of the clause. It is as if the beginning of the clause were being "ignored" and the clause really started with the verb (predicate). This "ignoring" is a tendency rather than a rule; there are various factors that can encourage or discourage it in a given example. We know that clause-introducers always take the enclitics; so they can never be ignored. Longer and more complicated items are easier to "ignore" than short simple ones:

*Ona doći će u utorak. Ona će doći u utorak.
"She will come on Tuesday."

*Sestra doći će u utorak. Sestra će doći u utorak.
"(My) sister will come on Tuesday."

?Moja sestra doći će u utorak.[7]
Moja će sestra doći u utorak.
Moja sestra će doći u utorak.
"My sister will come on Tuesday."

Moja mladja sestra doći će u utorak.
also:
Moja će mladja sestra..
Moja mladja sestra će..
"My younger sister will come on Tuesday."

Sestra i njen muž doći će u utorak.
also:
Sestra će i njen muž..
Sestra i njen muž će..
"(My) sister and her husband will come on Tuesday."

A pause after an element may cause the sentence to "start over again", i.e. the preceding element is ignored:[8]

Njegova posljednja knjiga...ovaj...dosadna mi je.
"His latest book...er...is boring."

(Putting the enclitics right after a pause:

Njegova posljednja knjiga...ovaj...mi je dosadna.

is not as good, because it creates an effect similar to putting them at the very beginning of a clause.)

Besides those due to hesitation, pauses can be due to the make-up of the sentence. This is a very difficult area to say anything concrete about at present, but we can mention one type of sentence structure which frequently produces a pause: when the first part of the clause introduces a topic which is going to be spoken about (the theme), there is often a pause before the second part (the rheme) which states something about this theme. For instance, if *moja djevojka* is a new topic in the conversation, there might well be a pause in the sentence

Moja djevojka /pause/ ide sutra na more.
"My girl friend // is going to the coast tomorrow."
"You know my girl friend? // She's going to the coast tomorrow."

This could lead to putting the enclitics after the verb:

Moja djevojka // vidjela je jučer medvjeda.
"My girl friend saw a bear yesterday."

and even:

Moja djevojka // napustila me je.
"My girl friend has left me."

The last sentence, however, would be rare except in quite emotional style, because putting the enclitics at the very end of a clause is disfavored if there is any other possible place for them. Compare:

Moja mladja sestra doći će u utorak.
??Moja mladja sestra doći će.

Newspaper and official style is specially fond of putting enclitics after the verb without regard to theme-rheme structure or pauses. Cf. the following, from an article whose theme is the king of Afghanistan:

Prvi sekretar afganistanske ambasade u Rimu *izjavio je* da će kralj provesti noć u prostorijama ambasade. (Vjesnik, 18. VII 1973.)
"The First Secretary of the Afghan Embassy in Rome announced that the king would spend the night on the Embassy premises."

A preferable order in ordinary style might be:

Prvi je sekretar...izjavio

or, for many speakers even better,

Prvi sekretar afganistanske ambasade u Rimu je izjavio

Sometimes we find that only part of the elements before the verb are being ignored:

UMAG, 17. srpnja.--Član Izvršnog komiteta CK SKH Ema Derosi-Bjelajac, u utorak je u Umagu govorila širem političkom aktivu Bujštine o

> novim ustavnim promjenama. (ibid.)
> "Ema Derosi-Bjelajac, a member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, spoke to a meeting of politically active citizens of the Buje region in Umag on Tuesday about the new constitutional changes."

In this example the subject is rather long and difficult to break up with an enclitic. Also, it is a theme in the sentence. The writer separated it from the rest of the sentence with a pause (note his use of the comma); then he treated u utorak as the new first element for the purpose of placing je.

There is one type of element in the sentence which has to be "ignored": subordinate clauses. Enclitics from the main clause usually do not go directly after them, and never inside them:

??Da Ivan voli Mariju mi je jasno.
*Da mi je Ivan voli Mariju jasno.

The enclitics must be put after one of the words of the main clause according to the rules we have discussed:

Da Ivan voli Mariju jasno mi je.
Da Ivan voli Mariju sasvim mi je jasno.
"That Ivan loves Marija is (quite) clear to me."

The best solution would be to invert the sentence, putting the predicate first:

Jasno mi je da Ivan voli Mariju.
Sasvim mi je jasno da Ivan voli Mariju.

Since sasvim jasno, in the last example, is the predicate, mi je must go after the first word. Cf.

*Sasvim jasno mi je da Ivan voli Mariju.

Another possibility would be to add a pronoun, to "it, that", which refers back to the subordinate clause but takes over the role of subject itself. Then the enclitics come after the pronoun, since it is the first element in the main clause:

Da Ivan voli Mariju, to mi je jasno.

It is possible to do the same thing in English, i.e. use that as a subject referring back to a subordinate clause:

That Ivan loves Marija--that is clear to me.

but in SC this is done much more commonly. To can be used to refer back to other things as well (infinitives, long phrases, lists of nouns): we will see examples with infinitives shortly.

Subordinate clauses, as we have said, are ignored for enclitic-placement purposes. After a subordinate clause, the main clause "starts over again". So in an example like

(3-2o) *Neki ljudi kojih sam pitao nisu slažili se. /TB/
Neki ljudi koje sam pitao nisu se složili.
"Some people I asked didn't agree."

the new beginning of the sentence is after *pitao*; the enclitic *se* must come after *nisu* which is now the first word.

Infinitive constructions. Infinitives can either behave like separate (subordinate) clauses or like parts of the main clause. It depends on how they are used.

If an infinitive is used as the complement to a verb (that is, the verb "takes" the infinitive after it), the infinitive does not usually count as a separate clause. The enclitics belonging to it (object pronouns, *se*) come up into the main clause and are put in the proper position. Thus not

*Ivan želi *vidjeti me*.

but

Ivan me želi vidjeti.
"Ivan wants to see me."

If the main clause has enclitics in it already, they all come together:

Ivan *me je* želio vidjeti.
"Ivan wanted to see me."

This point is a very frequent source of errors:

(3-21) *On morat će umivati se. /AH/
On će se morati umivati.
"He'll have to wash (himself)."

(3-22) *Zašto ne može Stanko tuširati se u kupaonici? /BB/
Zašto se ne može Stanko (better: zašto se Stanko ne može) tuširati u kupaonici?
"Why can't Stanko take a shower in the bathroom?"

(3-23) *Pokušaju ponašati se kao ne postojam. /TL/
Pokušavaju se ponašati kao da ne postojim.
"They try to act as though I don't exist."

See also (1-3). Clearly it is hard for English speakers to learn to detach objects from the verbs they belong with, since this is never done in English. (In French, too, object pronouns stay with their infinitives:

> *Jean nous a voulu voir.
> Jean a voulu nous voir.
> "John wanted to see us."

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which could make the Serbo-Croatian rule more difficult for people who had studied French.)

On the other hand, if the infinitive is used as an independent part of the sentence (usually as the subject), it can either be treated as a separate clause or not. If the infinitive is "bare", with no accompanying words, main-clause enclitics can come right after it:

> Raditi im je teško.
> "To work is hard for them."

Thus a bare infinitive does not act like a clause. But one having other words in the same construction with it, like *raditi u rudniku* or *tražiti ga u mraku*, prefers to behave like a clause: its enclitics stay with it (after the first element in the construction), and enclitics belonging to the main clause are not so likely to come right after the infinitive construction (and certainly not to go inside it).

> ?Raditi u rudniku im je teško.
> ??Raditi im je u rudniku teško.
> "To work in the mine is hard for them."

A better way to say the same thing is with the enclitics of the main clause after *teško* (this requires a small break, so that *teško* can be treated as the first element of the main clause):

> Raditi u rudniku // teško im je.

or to use *to* to refer back to the infinitive phrase:

> Raditi u rudniku, to im je teško.

or, even better, to put the predicate first and the subject second:

> Teško im je raditi u rudniku.

If there are enclitics in the infinitive construction, they remain inside it:

> Tražiti ga u mraku // teško je.
> *Tražiti u mraku teško ga je.
> "To look for it in the dark is difficult."

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If, however, the infinitive construction comes after the predicate, we have a choice: the enclitics either stay inside it or come out into the main clause. In other words, the construction either acts like other subjects, or like a complement.

> Teško je tražiti ga u mraku.
> Teško ga je tražiti u mraku.

We said that enclitics come after the first element in the infinitive construction; but in all our examples so far, the first element has been the infinitive itself. If some other word is first in the infinitive construction, the enclitics follow our normal rules and come after this first word, as the following example shows:

> Nije lijepo *tako se ponašati*.[9]
> "It is not nice to behave like that."

4. *The full forms*. We saw that the enclitics have no accent of their own, and have to "lean on" a preceding word that has an accent. The full forms have their own accent, and do not need a preceding word; they can come at the beginning or anywhere else in a sentence, following the same rules for word order as normal words.

The full forms are used only in particular situations, which we will now list; in all other situations, the enclitics are required.

Any word must be accented if it is emphasized. So the full form must be used to carry emphasis in sentences like:

> Svjedok je TEBE okrivio.
> "The witness accused YOU."

If we use *te*, there is no emphasis on "you"; some other word may be emphasized, or there may be no emphasis in the sentence at all.

> Svjedok te je OKRIVIO.
> "The witness ACCUSED you."

> Svjedok te je okrivio.
> "The witness accused you."

Contrasted words also must be accented.

> Okrivio je *njih*, a nije okrivio *tebe*.
> *Njih* je okrivio, a *tebe* nije (okrivio).
> "*He* accused *them*, but he didn't accuse *you*."

So one couldn't use the enclitic forms:

> *Okrivio ih je, a nije te okrivio.

just as one can't say the sentence in English with the two pronouns unaccented:

*_He accused_ them, _but he didn't accuse_ you.

An example showing how a full form is required to express contrast:

(4-1) "Ne svidja mi se..." "*Ne svidja mi se i ja."/WS/
"Ne svidja mi se..." "Ni meni se ne svidja."
"I don't like..." "I don't like it either."

W.S. knew that a different form had to be used in the second sentence to show the contrast between the first speaker and the second; but he did it by putting the nominative _ja_ which doesn't fit with _svidjati se_ (the dative case is required).

Auxiliary verbs use full forms for emphasis and contrast in the same way.

*Marko _neće_ doći, ali Slavko _će_.
Marko _neće_ doći, ali Slavko _hoće_.
"Marko _won't_ come, but Slavko _will_."

"Nisu ovdje." "_Jesu_! Ako ja kažem da _jesu_, onda _jesu_."
"They're not here." "They _are_! If I tell you they _are_, then they _are_."

Words which add emphasis (_i_ "also, even", _baš_ "just, precisely", _samo_, _jedino_ "only", _sâm sama samo_" ...self", etc.) naturally require the full forms of the words they modify.

*Okrivio je i te.
Okrivio je _i tebe_.
"He accused _you too_." "He accused _even you_."

Neće doći. -- A možda _i hoće_.
"He won't come. -- But maybe he _will_, _too_."

Okrivio je _baš tebe_. (*baš te)
"He accused YOU:" "He accused you, of all people."

Rekao sam to _njemu samom_.
"I said that to _him himself_."

Samo tebe volim. (*Samo te)
"_Only you_ do I love."

A word specially asked about in a question has to be accented, just as in English.

Je li okrivio _mene_ (ili nekog drugog)?
"Did he accuse _me_ (or somebody else)?"

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In the same way, the word in the answer to a question which supplies the new information has to be accented:

> Koga je okrivio? -- Okrivio je njih. (or just: njih.)
> "Who(m) did he accuse? -- He accused them. (Them.)"

Okrivio ih je. could not be the answer, just as "He accused 'em," with the pronoun unaccented, could not be the answer in English.

> Da li će doći? -- Hoće. Rekao mi je da hoće.
> "Will he come? -- He will. He told me he would."

> Bi li on to prihvatio? -- Da, bi. Mislim da bi. (accented bi's)
> "Would he accept that? -- Yes, he would. I think he would."

At the beginning of the sentence, full forms must be used. If pronouns come at the beginning, it's usually because of emphasis or contrast; but many speakers say

> Meni se čini da...
> "It seems to me that..."

as a fixed expression, with no special emphasis or contrast, as well as

> Čini mi se da...

with the clitic mi.

Full forms of pronouns are also sometimes used at the beginning of a sentence in order to refer to something mentioned immediately before: that is, the full form can be used at the beginning if it is a known theme.

> Današnja emisija je posvećena pijanistici Ani Karim. Nju ćemo čuti u nizu suvremenih djela.
> "Today's (radio) program is devoted to the pianist Ana Karim. We will hear her in a number of contemporary works."

But in such cases it is equally possible to use the enclitic, which of course goes in second place:

> Današnja emisija je posvećena pijanistici Ani Karim. Čut ćemo je u nizu suvremenih djela.

As we have seen, there is a rule that yes-or-no questions with li put the verb first (Studira li Marko medicinu?). Auxiliary verbs are often put at the beginning because of this rule; then they appear in the full forms.

> Hoće li Marko doći?
> "Will Marko come?"
>
> Jesu li djeca stigla?
> "Have the children arrived?"
>
> Jesmo li svi spremni?
> "Are we all ready?"

Remember that je is used as a full form before li:

> Je li Milan tu?
> "Is Milan here?"

As we said, the answers will also be full forms: Hoće, Jesu, Jesmo, but Jest (rather than Je, because the verb is no longer before li).[10]

In the middle of a sentence, too, full forms are used if there is nothing for enclitics to lean on. This comes up particularly with auxiliary verb forms. For example, enclitics should not lean on a subordinate clause (at least in the literary language), so we have e.g.

> Jedino rješenje koje se može prihvatiti jest (to) da prodamo kuću.
> "The only solution that can be adopted is for us to sell the house."

(But this rule is losing ground, and one often finds e.g.

> Jedino rješenje koje se može prihvatiti je da prodamo kuću.

with the enclitic used anyway. How acceptable this is depends on the type and length of subordinate clause.[10a])

An enclitic can never be joined to another word by a conjunction (i "and", ni "nor", ili "or", nego "but", "than", već "but", etc.). Full forms must be used. This is true both for pronouns and for verb forms.

> *Doveli su me i ga.
> Doveli su mene i njega.
> "They brought him and me."
>
> *Ja ti i Milanu nisam ništa rekao.
> Ja tebi i Milanu nisam ništa rekao.
> "I didn't say anything to you and Milan."
>
> *Ili joj, ili mu treba pripisati dobre rezultate.

Ili njoj, ili njemu treba pripisati dobre rezultate.
"The good results should be attributed either to her or to him."

*Djeca ne samo da izgledaju umorna, već su.
Djeca ne samo da izgledaju umorna, već jesu.
"The children don't just *look* tired, they *are*."

Of course, some of these sentences would have to have full forms because of contrast as well; see above.

A pronoun used as the object of a preposition is always full form[11]:

iz mene (*iz me), bez tebe (*bez te),
izvan sebe (*izvan se), k nama (*k nam),
prema meni (*prema mi), za njih (*za ih),
uz nju (*uz je).

Another situation that may require a full form is a clash of enclitics, as in footnote 4: *Nekoliko njih ga je udarilo*.

When a pronoun is used together with a quantity expression in a single phrase, the full form is used:

Njih dvojica "the two of them" (two men)
Njih dvoje "the two of them" (mixed group, children)
Njih dvije "the two of them" (women)
Njih pet "the five of them"
Vas pet "the five of you, you five"
Njih nekoliko "several of them"
Nas deset "the ten of us, we ten"

(The genitive form of the pronoun is required by the numerals and other quantity expressions.) We can make a generalization that covers many of the cases above too: when a pronoun has another word in the same phrase with it, the full form has to be used.

If none of the above reasons exists, using a full form instead of an enclitic generally makes the sentence unacceptable. In this example

(4-2) *Skuvala sam kavu za njih, ali ne znam da li njima to se svidela. /SH/
Skuhala sam im kavu, ali ne znam da li im se svidjela.[12]
"I made them some coffee, but I don't know if they liked it."

"they" have already been mentioned in the first clause, so there is no reason to emphasize or contrast them by using njima instead of im in the second. In the same way, unless there is some reason to stress "me" ("Can you buy ME some bread?"), the full form is out of place in

(4-3) *Da li možete meni kupiti kruha? /RF/
Da li mi možete kupiti kruha?
"Can you buy me some bread?"

5. Ne + verbal enclitic. We said before that ne + verb counted as one word. This rule holds for the verbal enclitics too: ne + enclitic always comes together and forms a single word. This word is accented (on the ne) and can come anywhere in the sentence; it no longer behaves like an enclitic. There is no distinction between full and enclitic in these forms with ne:

nisam	neću	ne bih	(spelled as two words, but functioning as one)
nisi	nećeš	ne bi	
nije	neće	ne bi	
nismo	nećemo	ne bismo	
niste	nećete	ne biste	
nisu	neće	ne bi	

That is, nisam must be used in place of ne + sam and in place of ne + jesam. Neću is used for ne + ću and for ne + hoću ("ne hoću" is a traditional mistake made by foreign learners). One cannot have auxiliary verb enclitics in their normal place and ne somewhere else in the sentence:

(5-1) *To će ti ipak ne isplatiti. /KS/
To ti se ipak neće isplatiti.
"That still won't be worth it for you."

NOTES

1. For example, Magner mentions personal pronouns in the dative and accusative cases, but does not tell where the genitive comes in the enclitic group. Since verbs like bojati se take an object in the genitive, a student using Magner's rules would not know how to say "Vera is afraid of you" (Vera te se boji). Magner states (p. 332): "The enclitic forms may appear in any part of the sentence immediately after an accented verb form." Brabec-Hraste-Živković make a similar statement: "Enklitika može uvijek stajati iza glagola bez obzira na kojem se mjestu on nalazi." ("Whatever position in the sentence the verb is in, an enclitic can come after it." p. 221.) If a student accepts these rules, he will produce

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incorrect sentences like *Ona doći će u utorak, instead of Ona će doći u utorak "She will come on Tuesday".

Neither Magner nor Brabec-Hraste-Živković point out that enclitics must follow clause-introducers immediately; so a learner might conclude that he could say *Mama odgovara da one su u ormaru. (See example (3-12).) Neither grammar states the rule about enclitics after the first word of a predicate. Discussing the example Marko Marulić otac je hrvatske književnosti "Marko Marulić is the father of Croatian literature", Brabec-Hraste-Živković say "...enklitiku prenosimo iza trećeg mjesta" ("We move the enclitic to after the third position, p. 221.) But the example could just as well have been Splićanin Marko Marulić otac je hrvatske književnosti. Then they would have had to make a rule about putting the enclitic after the fourth word of the sentence. A sentence like Čuveni Splićanin Marko Marulić otac je hrvatske književnosti "The famous inhabitant of Split, Marko Marulić, is the father of Croatian literature" would have required another rule in order to put the enclitic after the fifth word, and so on.

Engelsfeld makes the position of the enclitics in the sentence depend on whether or not there is a subject: "But if the subject (the personal pronoun) is not expressed, the pronominal enclitic follows the verb e.g.

Ne vidim ga.	I do not see him.
Nisam mu rekao.	I did not tell him."

(p. 183), leading the unwary reader to believe that the correct order would also be *Sad ne vidim ga. *To nisam mu rekao. instead of Sad ga ne vidim. "Now I do not see him." and To mu nisam rekao. "I did not tell him that."

2. *Rekli li mu ste, da idete u Ljubljanu sutra? /JL/ is wrong because of this rule: the finite verb is ste, not the form rekli which does not take endings for person. In order to make a question with li, we need the full form of ste (see the section on full forms below): Jeste li mu rekli da idete u Ljubljanu sutra? "Did you tell him thar you were going to Ljubljana tomorrow?"

The enclitic li can also be used in sentences which are questions already, like Gdje mi je sestra? "Where is my sister?" Li comes after the first word, i.e. the question word: Gdje li mi je sestra? and emphasizes that the speaker is asking himself the question. We could translate our example as "I wonder where my sister is."

3. In colloquial style, je li or je l' is used in the same way as da li.

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4. What happens when there is an accusative and a genitive enclitic together? We can make the experiment in two ways: either with a verb that takes one object in the accusative and the other in the genitive, or with a quantity word taking the genitive plus a verb taking the accusative. *Lišiti* "deprive someone(acc.) of something (gen.)" according to one speaker gives *Lišili su ih* (gen.) *ga* (acc.). "They deprived him (e.g. the peasant) of them (e.g. his rights)." But a different accusative pronoun gives the order *Lišili su me* (acc.) *ih* (gen.). "They deprived me of them." Another speaker understands *Lišili su ih ga* as "They deprived them of him." Other speakers consider such sentences "very unusual", and all find it hard to make consistent judgements and therefore try to avoid such cases.

The quantity word *nekoliko* "some" can be followed by a genitive enclitic: *Nekoliko ih je došlo*. "Some of them came." When used together with a verb and an accusative clitic, the first speaker prefers the order *Nekoliko ih* (gen.) *ga* (acc.) *je udarilo*. "Some of them hit him.", while the second speaker allows either *ih ga* or *ga ih* in this meaning. Most commonly one would say *Udarilo ga je njih nekoliko*. that is, with the full form of the genitive.

For practical purposes, then, we can say that there is only one position, which can be filled either by a genitive enclitic or by an accusative enclitic.

5. We also occasionally find an accusative and a *se* together when there is a verb requiring *se*, followed by an infinitive construction that has an accusative object of its own. (See the section on infinitive constructions below.) Thus if the main verb is *nije se usudio* "he didn't dare" and the infinitive construction is *zabraniti ga* "to forbid it", we can have either *Nije se usudio zabraniti ga*. or *Nije ga se usudio zabraniti*. "He (the bishop) didn't dare to forbid it (the meeting)" (E. Radetić, *Istarski zapisi*, Zagreb 1969, p. 358). Again, we see that an accusative enclitic precedes *se* when they come together. This accusative *ga* + *se* would be considered substandard in the eastern variant of SC (I thank M. Ivić for this and a number of other useful comments).

6. *Je* can also be removed after *me* and *te* (*vidio me je* = *vidio me*, *pozvao te je* = *pozvao te*). This happens especially in spoken style. But still it is more common to leave the *je* in. This contrasts with the dropping of *je* in *se je*, which is normal (and some speakers insist on it).

6a. Some of the sentences given here with "*" become more acceptable if emphasis is put on the first word or a pause is put after it:

U školi učit će bez knjige (as opposed to *kod kuće*).
Zbog toga došao sam u Jugoslaviju.
Ujutro, Mladen će ići u školu.
U utorak, doći će sestra.

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See the discussion of pauses below.

6b. *Da* meaning "yes" is a different word--not a clause-introducer at all, and not even counted as part of the sentence.

Da, Ivan ju je vidio.
"Yes, Ivan saw her."

6c. *Kakve* (*su*) *boje* for "what color" is also acceptable, and several speakers of the Eastern variant insisted on it instead of *koje*.

7. The mark "?" means that the sentence is questionable, but not as bad as "*".

8. Czech has rules for enclitics very much like those of Serbo-Croatian. Here is the testimony of a Czech linguist: "One might perhaps mention...a speech habit which the present writer has himself experienced. If he formulates a sentence slowly, he usually puts enclitic pronouns and verbal forms behind the word form to which they belong. In reading such sentences for the second time, however, he always shifts such enclitics to the front of the sentence, before the concerned words. In other words, when the sentence is being formed for the first time, it is analysed into its parts more sharply, and as an enclitic is not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence section, it has to be placed behind the word to which it belongs. When, however, the formed sentence is implemented, it is experienced more as a coherent whole, and thus the enclitic is shifted to the first word of the whole sentence." Vilém Mathesius, "On the Potentiality of the Phenomena of Language", in J. Vachek, *A Prague School Reader in Linguistics* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1964), p. 16.

9. Another example:

... nije preporučljivo *dugo se izlagati suncu prije kupanja*.
"...it is not advisable to expose oneself to the sun for a long time before going in swimming." (Oslobodjenje, Sarajevo, Aug. 5, 1973)

1o. In colloquial style, especially in Zagreb, many speakers use *je* for the long form under all circumstances:

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Je li Milan tu? -- Je. Mislim da je.
"Is Milan here? -- Yes, he is. I think he is."

In the standard language, this answer would be *Jest*. *Mislim da jest*. (Western variant) or *Jeste. Mislim da jeste*. (Eastern). Eastern Serbo-Croatian uses *jest* only in the expression *to jest* "that is, i.e."; otherwise *jeste*. *Jeste* can also be used in the Eastern variant in the meaning "yes" (to answer a question that may have some other verb in it).

10a. It also depends on which enclitic is involved.

Jedina rješenja koja se mogu prihvatiti su da...

is less acceptable than the corresponding example with *je*. "In speech all right, in writing one would correct it", was one speaker's reaction. *Je* is thus a less "strict" enclitic than *su*.

11. With prepositions taking the accusative, one sometimes finds *me*, *te*, *se*, and *nj* "him, it": *zá te* (= *za tebe* "for you"), *gleda ná nj* (= *gleda na njega* "looks at him/it"), *izadji prȅdā nj* (= *izadji pred njega* "go out in front of him/it"). This use is now archaic or literary. E.g. in a poem from the last century, now sung as a song:

Ko je, srce, ú te dirn'o,
Da si tako sad nemirno? (Preradović)
"Who has touched thee, heart,
That thou art now so troubled?"

The forms *me*, *te*, *se* are not the same as the normal enclitics. The preposition + pronoun group has an accent, as indicated, and it can be joined by a conjunction with another, contrasting group (which enclitics could not be), for example in the saying

Uzdaj se *ú se* i u svoje kljuse!
"Rely on yourself and your horse."

12. *Skuvala* is a good Eastern form; the correct sentence in the Eastern variant would be

Skuvala sam im kafu, ali ne znam da li im se svidela.

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APPENDIX M

CONTRASTIVE PATTERNS IN ENGLISH AND SC CONJOINING

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CONTRASTIVE PATTERNS IN ENGLISH AND SC CONJOINING

In E, SC, and probably all languages, a series of 2, 3, or more elements can be joined by conjunctions so that the whole series has the function of a single constituent of a sentence:

(1) John and Mary and Joseph and Ann are coming tomorrow.
Ivan i Marija i Josip i Ana dolaze sutra.

Here the four conjoined nouns act as the subject of the sentence. In (1), there is a conjunction before every element. In a formula: X &X &X &X, where "&" stands for the conjunction ("and, i" or "or, ili"). The same pattern can, obviously, be repeated any number of times:
X &X, X &X &X, X &X &X &X &X, . . .etc. ; to cover all examples with more than two X's, we can write X &X . . . &X.

SC also allows the pattern with a conjunction before the first element too: &X &X, for two elements, and &X &X . . . &X for more than two. E does not.

(2) I Ivan i Marija i Josip i Ana . . .
(2E) *And John and Mary and Joseph and Ann. . .

When there are only 2 X's, E can have &X &X with a special variant of the first conjunction:

(3) Both John and Mary are coming tomorrow.
Either John or Mary is coming tomorrow.

The opinions of E-speakers differ about *both*, *either* in strings of 3 or more X's; some accept e. g.

(4) Both John and Mary and Joseph. . .
Either John or Mary or Joseph. . .

and others do not. In view of this disagreement, learners of E should not be encouraged to use the &X &X . . . &X pattern in E.

In both E and SC, all the conjunctions but the last can be left out (X X . . . &X):

(5) John, Mary, Joseph, and Ann are coming tomorrow.
Ivan, Marija, Josip i Ana dolaze sutra.

As this example shows, E and SC have different punctuation rules for conjoined elements. SC does not write a comma after the next-to-last element. The same pattern X, X, . . . &X without the comma is sometimes seen in English, but using a comma (X, X, . . . , &X) is preferable and should be recommended to learners.

In both languages, the X's that are being conjoined must be elements of the same type. A noun phrase can be conjoined only with a noun phrase, an adverb with an adverb, etc. In (1), nouns are conjoined. In

(6) My friend and his wife are coming tomorrow.
Moj prijatelj i njegova žena dolaze sutra.

we have two noun phrases (NP's) conjoined. A noun and an NP can also be conjoined:

(7) John and his wife...
Ivan i njegova žena...

This is because the noun John/Ivan has, itself, the value of an NP in the sentence. There are some differences between E and SC in the details of what can be conjoined, as we will see later.

When elements are conjoined, repeated parts of them can be left out. One very common situation is repeated parts at the beginning of each element. Instead of:

(8) Her father and her mother are coming tomorrow.
Njen otac i njena majka dolaze sutra.

we can say:

(9) Her father and mother are coming tomorrow.
Njen otac i majka dolaze sutra.

Here the repeated part is her/njen. (Note that njen- is normally left out of the SC example even though it has a different ending, namely -a, in its second occurrence. That is, different grammatical forms of the same word count as repeated elements.) If we represent the repeated part by small x, we have the pattern xX & xX --> xX & X. Of course, the same phenomenon exists in strings with more than 2 X's:

(10) Her father, her mother, her sister, and her aunt...
Njen otac, njena majka, njena sestra i njena tetka...

can become

(11) Her father, mother, sister, and aunt...
Njen otac, majka, sestra i tetka...

In symbols: xX xX ... & xX --> xX X ... & X.

Numerous other sorts of "x" behave this way.
x=adjective:

(12) old pigs, old cows, and old dogs
stare svinje, stare krave i stari psi

(13) old pigs, cows, and dogs
stare svinje, krave i psi

(Of course, the examples (13) are ambiguous. In their other meaning, that in which the cows and dogs are not necessarily old, (13) are clearly not derived by leaving out repeated x's.)

x=preposition:

(14) In Berlin, in Moscow, and in Helsinki
U Berlinu, u Moskvi i u Helsinkiju

(15) In Berlin, Moscow, and Helsinki
U Berlinu, Moskvi i Helsinkiju

x=adverb:

(16) Very kind, very good, and very pretty
Vrlo ljubazna, vrlo dobra i vrlo lijepa

(17) Very kind, good, and pretty
Vrlo ljubazna, dobra i lijepa

etc.

SC, however, has another pattern that E does not. Frequently the x before the second, third... X is left out, but the x before the last X is kept:

(18) Njen otac, majka, sestra i njena tetka
stare svinje, krave i stari psi
u Berlinu, Moskvi i u Helsinkiju

In symbols: xX, X ... & xX. We will see later why this pattern is not possible in E; here we will merely state that the corresponding examples

(18E) *Her father, mother, sister, and her aunt
*Old pigs, cows, and old dogs
*In Berlin, Moscow, and in Helsinki

are ungrammatical. (Of course, a string like old pigs, cows, and old dogs is acceptable in the meaning "old pigs, cows that are not necessarily old, and old dogs". But then it does not arise by deleting repeated x's.)

Since the xX, X ... & xX pattern is common in SC, we can predict that SC speakers will attempt to use it in E as well. And in fact it is a frequent source of errors.

(19) *...resemble each other in tastes, behavior and even in the way they express their ideas. (SRAZ 33-36, Zagreb, p. 313)

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(20) *James's social criticism, political awareness and his treatment of the interrelationship of the public and the private.... (ibid. 295)

(In (20) we have *his* instead of a repeated *James's*, but the structure is otherwise just the same.) Examples have even been found in which the pattern is applied when x is an English element having no SC equivalent: the definite article *the*. This proves that the pattern is being employed by the foreign speaker *as a pattern* rather than as a too-literal translation of a native-language sentence.

The importance of the xX, X ... & xX pattern for the SC-speaking learner of E is clear: he must be taught not to use it. What about its importance for the E-speaker learning SC? He will have no difficulty in understanding SC sentences built according to it, just as examples (18-20) are perfectly understandable in E. And he will probably never have to make a pronouncement about whether such sentences are grammatical in SC: very few E-speakers become magazine editors in Yugoslavia, and those who become teachers of SC will in most cases only have to deal with those ungrammatical sentences which are produced by E-speaking students of SC, in which examples like (18) will not occur anyway.

Can our E-speaker get by without using the pattern in SC? In any one given instance, he probably can: there are other alternatives, namely the patterns xX &xX ... &xX (or &xX &xX ... &xX) and xX X ... & X. Can he get by in a long text if he never uses it? This is a different question. In the given case, the answer is quite possibly yes, but the opinions of native speakers of SC will carry more weight than mine. For many constructions the answer to the same question will be negative. Ferenc Papp in a recent article (*Slavica*, Debrecen, 1973) discusses the notion of *quasi-correctness*: it is possible, he says, for each of the sentences in a text to be correct, for them to be correctly linked with their immediate neighbors, and yet for the text as a whole to give a "foreign" impression to the reader. A simple example is a text that contains too many of some element, e.g. the letter q or the sound vocalic r. A more complicated example, and one more important in practice, is the use of NP's and prepositional phrases in Russian as modifiers and complements to nouns just as in E: my surprise *at the news*, the man *in the corner*). Hungarian lacks this use almost completely. So when Hungarians write texts in Russian, they avoid it. The result is an unnatural, foreign-sounding text, even though no Russian could point to a particular sentence in it and say "This sentence should have had a complement on a noun instead of the construction you used."

The difference between E and SC with respect to the xX X ... & xX pattern is part of a wider difference. Both languages impose restrictions on what elements can be conjoined; but in E these restrictions operate on the surface structures of sentences, while in SC they look only at deep structures. A deep structure

(21) u Berlinu, u Moskvi i u Helsinkiju

satisfies the SC restrictions, even though some of the prepositions may be omitted in surface structure. (Naturally, (21) is not the deepest structure that linguistic analysis can reach; to be more precise, it is a surface structure which reflects the deep structure faithfully insofar as none of the elements have been deleted from it. But for pedagogical purposes, it may usefully be called a deep structure.) The English restrictions, however, require a surface structure with conjoined prepositonal phrases as in (21), i.e. like the deep structure:

(22) in Berlin, in Moscow, and in Helsinki

or else a surface structure

(23) in Berlin, Moscow, and Helsinki

with all the prepositions left out except the first. The restrictions accept (23) because they see it as a series of conjoined nouns. In

(24) *in Berlin, Moscow, and in Helsinki

a noun is conjoined with a prepositionalphrase (Moscow and in Helsinki); these two together are a bad conjunction in E, just as they would be in SC. Here, for comparison, is an SC sentence in which either a noun or a prepositional phrase would be in place, but their conjunction is ungrammatical:

(25) *Čekamo dirigenta i na početak koncerta.
"We are waiting for the conductor and for the beginning of the concert."

Thus E requires parallel constructions on the surface, while SC does not always. We can find many other examples of the same phenomenon. When yes-no questions are conjoined with or (ili), each one has to be formulated as a question in E, while only the first has the form of a question in SC:

(26) Are they going back to Zagreb or are they staying in Rijeka?

Vraćaju li se u Zagreb ili ostaju na Rijeci?

When relative clauses are conjoined, the second (and following) ones can lose their relative element in SC, leaving a personal pronoun behind:

(27) Jedini čovjek koji nije bio pozvan, nego kojeg smo naknadno obavijestili o zaključcima sjednice, bio je Ivan Sidorović.

Jedini čovjek koji nije bio pozvan, nego smo ga naknadno obavijestili o zaključcima sjednice, bio je Ivan Sidorović.

But in English every clause in the conjoined series has to have the form of a relative clause, that is, has to contain a relative word:

(27E) The only man who was not invited but who(m) we informed of the conclusions of the meeting afterwards was Ivan Sidorović.

*The only man who was not invited but we informed him. . .

Here are a few examples of conjoined structures which would not get through the E filter.

(28) Drama je vrlo zanimljiva, dobro pisana i predstavlja jedno od najvrednijih dostignuća slovenske poslijeratne dramaturgije. (Vjesnik, Zagreb, 18. X 73.)

*The play is very interesting, well written, and represents one of the most valuable achievements of the postwar Slovene drama.

To see the difficulty with (28), let us reconstruct the deep structure of each of the conjoined phrases:

. . . je vrlo zanimljiva
. . . je dobro pisana
. . . predstavlja jedno od najvrednijih dostignuća. . .

. . . is very interesting
. . . is well written
. . . represents one of the most. . .

In SC it is possible to omit the je of the second phrase, since it repeats the je of the first. This cannot be done in English, although E has a similar rule for omitting repeated elements, because the result (starred above) has a verb phrase, a predicate (well written), and another verb phrase conjoined in its surface structure. If we wish to leave out the repeated is, we can do it by conjoining the first and second phrases only:

. . . is very interesting and well written

We now have a single verb phrase which contains two conjoined predicates, very interesting and well written. Therefore its surface structure is acceptable. We can take this verb phrase and conjoin it with another verb phrase to get a proper E construction:

(29) The play is very interesting and well written and represents one of the most valuable achievements . . .

A similar example is

(30) ... dobrovoljno se radi na izgradnji poligona, kasarni i na tekućem održavanju raznih vojnih objekata. (Vjesnik 9. XI 73.)

*they are working voluntarily on the construction of firing ranges, (of) barracks, and on the maintenance of various military installations.

The three phrases of the deep structure are:

na izgradnji poligona
na izgradnji kasarni
na tekućem održavanju raznih vojnih objekata.

or in E:

on the construction of firing ranges
on the construction of barracks
on the maintenance of various military installations.

In E all three can be conjoined at once, but only elements identical in all conjuncts can be omitted:

(31) on the construction of firing ranges, the construction of barracks, and the maintenance of ...

Otherwise, we will get non-parallel constructions.

Or, to achieve greater condensation, the first two can be conjoined, and quite a number of elements can be left out:

(32) a. on the construction of firing ranges and on the construction of barracks

b. on the construction of firing ranges and the construction of barracks

c. on the construction of firing ranges and construction of barracks (less acceptable: the and the repeated noun prefer to delete together)

d. on the construction of firing ranges and of barracks

e. on the construction of firing ranges and barracks

We can now conjoin any of these prepositional phrases with the third phrase of the deep structure:

(33) a. on the construction of firing ranges and the construction of barracks, and (on) the maintenance of...

b. on the construction of firing ranges and barracks, and (on) the maintenance of...

etc.

Conjoined relatives and conjoined questions (see Studies 3) are probably the most difficult type of conjoined construction for the E-speaking learner of SC, since they involve grammatical elements (question marker, relative marker) which do not show up as individual words in the surface structure. This means that their make-up cannot be rendered clear (i.e. English-like) merely by putting back an omitted word. The conjoined question structure is specially important because there is no other way to say it in SC; following the E model leads inevitably to an error.

Other cases of SC structures which in E would be rejected as non-parallel will not cause as great difficulties. First, they can be understood more easily, since replacing an omitted word, or adding a conjunction (as in (29) and (33) above) is enough to make the structure like E. Second, they seem never to be obligatory in SC, so following the E model will not lead to an actual error. However, the dangers of redundancy, "quasi-correctness", and stylistic monotony should be taken into account at higher levels of learning.

A useful aid in teaching, whether in the E-SC or in the SC-E direction, would be to break sentences down into their deeper elements as has been done in this paper. Even without extensive use of grammatical terminology, students of E should be able to see easily that E sentences cannot contain non-parallel items like Moscow and in Helsinki; while students of SC can be shown that a seemingly illogical and chaotic construction like

> u izgradnji poligona, kasarni i u tekućem održavanju raznih vojnih objekata

arises through deletion of repeated elements at the left end of phrases, just the same rule as is used in English.

NOTES

1. See W. Browne, "On Conjoined Questions and Conjoined Relative Clauses in English and Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović, ed., YSCECP, Studies 3, Zagreb, 1971, pp. 49-63.

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APPENDIX N

NOTES ON CLAUSES AS SUBJECTS

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NOTES ON CLAUSES AS SUBJECTS

(Based on: Z. Grdanički, "Subject composed of clause", in R. Filipović (ed.), YSCECP, *Reports 5*, Zagreb 1971, pp. 40-55.)

In both E and SC, clauses can function as subjects.

(1) He will be late. That he will be late is clear.

The English speaker, translating sentences like (1) directly, will arrive at more or less acceptable SC sentences:

(1SC) On će zakasniti. Da će on zakasniti je očigledno.

In many such sentences, the position of enclitics will be a problem for him, but he should know from the beginning of his studies that enclitics generally come in second place--obligatorily if the clause begins with a subordinating conjunction. Therefore he should be able to arrive at *da će on*... from *on će*....

As Grdanički notes, the enclitic in the main clause of (1SC) is felt to be badly placed. This is because in SC a subordinate clause does not count as a first element after which an enclitic may be placed. If one, therefore, counts *očigledno* as the first element, one can make

(1SCb) Da će on zakasniti, očigledno je.

Another possibility is to use an anaphoric demonstrative (*to*) to repeat the subject:

(1SCc) Da će on zakasniti, to je očigledno.

Similar constructions are possible but not good in E:

(1b) ?That he will come, that (this) is possible.

With other sorts of clauses than those introduced by *that* acceptability increases:

(2) How he did it--that will remain a mystery.

(3) Whether he will come--that isn't clear to anyone yet.

Nevertheless such repetition of the subject is rare in E, and its use in SC will have to be specially taught. It is not restricted to clause subjects, but is also used to refer to nouns, especially lists of nouns:

(4) Radne snage imamo dovoljno.
Mašine, alat, sredstva--to nam treba.[1]

"We have a big enough labor force.
Machines, tools, resources - this is what we need."

The *to* (*that*) can also function as other parts of the sentence, for example the object:

(5) Da li će doći, to još ne znamo.

(5E) Whether he will come, that we don't know yet.

It clearly has a role in establishing theme-rheme structure of the sentence. Being a valuable resource of SC, its use should be taught to learners.

In E, assuming a repetitive *that* is not used, most sorts of subject clause can be extraposed (and usually are), so that they follow the main clause. The main clause then has *it* in the position of the subject:

(6) It is clear that he will be late.

In SC there is no word corresponding to *it* in sentences like (6):

(6SC) Jasno je da će on zakasniti.

But this lack should present no special difficulty to the learner, since he should already know that subject personal pronouns are not translated into SC except for emphasis or contrast, neither of which exists in (6). If he has learned not to say e. g.

(7) Ja sam učio hrvatski dvije godine i ja mnogo
volim taj jezik, ali ja još ne znam dobro govoriti.

then he will not say (8) either:

(8) *To (or *Ono) je očigledno da će on zakasniti.

If he merely leaves out the personal pronoun, the result will be

(9) *Je očigledno da...

but again, he should know that enclitics come second, not first. This principle will give the correct

(10) Očigledno je da...

Grdanički cites problems for SC speakers in constructing E direct and indirect questions. Since in SC there is no internal difference between direct questions and subordinated (indirect), no such problem will arise for E-speaking learners. Once they have learned to make questions with question words or *da li* or with *li* after the verb, they can use the same questions as subordinate clauses:

(11) Gdje on živi?
"Where does he live?"

(12) Gdje on živi, meni je nepoznato.
"Where he lives is unknown to me."

(13) Hoće li doći?
"Will he come?"

(14) Hoće li doći, to još ne znamo.
"Whether he'll come we don't know yet."

One interesting consequence of the lack of formal difference in SC between direct and indirect questions is the loss of a distinction used e.g. in book titles. An E book could be called:

(15) How did Shakespeare write?

and another one might be

(16) How Shakespeare wrote.

Both would normally be translated into SC as .

(17) Kako je pisao Šekspir? or: Kako je Šekspir pisao?

The difference can be brought out by reconstructing full sentences about the book:

(15') This book asks how Shakespeare wrote.

(16') This book tells how Shakespeare wrote.

(15), but not (16), can conclude that we don't know how Shakespeare wrote; (16) must give us a statement about his methods. An SC translation which would make this explicit might be

(16SC) O tome kako je Šekspir pisao.
"About how Shakespeare wrote."

or

(16SC) Šekspirovo pisanje.
"Shakespeare's writing."

N O T E S

1. Mihajlo Stevanović, Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik II (Sintaksa), Beograd, 1969.

See also: Ljubomir Popović, "Ponavljanje početnog rečeničnog člana kao stilsko sredstvo za isticanje", Naš jezik, Knjiga XVI, Nova serija, Sv. 1-2, pp. 1-21.

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APPENDIX O

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES
(Error Analysis)

Anuška Nakić

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COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

(Error Analysis)

1. Da "that" is omitted under the influence of the omission of E. that:

/BP/*Mislim _____ oboje je pravo.
Mislim da su obojica u pravu

I think (that) both i. e. both men) are right.

/SI/*. . . mislim ____ će mi biti teško
. . . mislim da će mi biti teško

. . . I think (that) it will be hard for me

A slightly different case is seen in:

/SY/*. . . to bi bilo nemogućno da se sam sjećala stvari
da mogu ____ se sjećam sada
. . . bilo bi nemoguće da sam se sjećala stvari kojih
se sada mogu sjetiti (kojih sada mogu da se sjetim)

. . . it would have been impossible that I should have
remembered things which I can remember now

In SC verbs taking infinitive complements can alternatively take a complement consisting of da plus the present tense. SY has treated this da too as though it were omissible like the E that.

2. Insertion of da before an infinitive complement.

/J/*Probao sam da napuniti knjigu.
Probao sam napuniti knjigu (Probao sam da napunim
knjigu).

I tried to fill up the book.

This cannot be English influence; it is the result of confusion of the infinitive and da+present constructions.

3. Choice of conjunction in indirect discourse

a) Questions.

/BB/*Ušao sam unutra i pitao sam prodavačicu
ako su imali maske.
Ušao sam unutra i pitao prodavačicu imaju li
maske (da li imaju maske).
I went in and asked the salesgirl if they had masks.

/BMc/*Ja mislim da znate ako netko će biti vaš
prijatelj prije jedne godine.
Ja mislim da znate da li će (hoće li) netko biti vaš
prijatelj prije godine dana.

I think that you know if someone is going to be your
friend within a year.

Ako corresponds to E if in conditional sentences (if X, then Y). But for "if, whether" in indirect questions, the same construction must be used as in direct questions: da li or verb + li.

/KA/*Ana pitat će je li Vera radi.
Ana će pitati radi li Vera (da li Vera radi).

Ana will ask if Vera is working.

This is a confusion within SC. Je li is used colloquially to introduce yes-no questions, but in indirect questions, as stated above, da li or verb+li must be used.

b) Commands.

/KA/*Vera će reći da Ana i Stanko idu s njom.
Vera će reći Ani i Stanku da idu s njom.

"Vera will tell Ana and Stanko to go with her."

KA's sentence is strictly speaking correct, but ambiguous. It could be the reported-speech version of

1. Ana i Stanko idu sa mnom.
"Ana and Stanko are going with me."

2. Neka Ana i Stanko idu sa mnom.
"Let Ana and Stanko go with me."

or

3. Ana i Stanko, idete sa mnom!"
"Ana and Stanko, go with me!"

But it will normally be interpreted as 1.
If neka "let" is used in indirect speech:

Vera će reći neka Ana i Stanko idu s njom.

the sentence will be understood as 2. but perhaps also as 3. If a perfective verb like doći "come" is used instead of an imperfective like ići "go", the meaning of command is not lost in indirect discourse, whatever conjunction is used:

Vera će reći da Ana i Stanko dodju.

"Vera will say for Ana and Stanko to come."

corresponding both to Neka dodju "Let them come" and Dodjite! "Come!".

Vera će reći Ani i Stanku da dodju.
means "Vera will tell Ana and Stanko to come", as above.

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APPENDIX P.

RELATIVE CLAUSES
(Error Analysis)

Anuška Nakić

Anuška Nakić

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RELATIVE CLAUSES

(Error Analysis)

I E Ø - SC Ø

SC relative clauses in general begin with a form of the relative pronoun koji "who, which". English relative clauses can be introduced by relative pronouns, or by that which is the same as the conjunction that, or by Ø (zero). At an early stage of learning, E-speaking learners use Ø in SC too, that is,they omit the relative pronoun.

*Saslušanje Nika je prvi komad ___ sam napisao. /J/
"Saslušavanje Nika" je prvi komad koji sam napisao.
"The Questioning of Nick" is the first play I ever wrote.

*...jedini realistički komad ___ napisao sam. /J/
...jedini realistički komad koji sam napisao.
...the only realistic play I have written.

*Teletinski "scalopini" je drugi jela ___ ja pripravim. /SV/
Teleći "scalopini" su još jedno jelo koje ja pripravljam.
Veal scallopini is another dish I make.

*Najbolje jelo ___ ja pripravim je špageti. /SV/
Najbolje jelo koje ja pripravljam su špageti.
The best dish I make is spaghetti.

In all these examples the omitted pronoun would be the accusative object of the relative clause. This is more or less what we expect since English does not leave out the pronoun when it is the subject.

II E who, that, or Ø - SC da

1. The relative pronoun is the subject of the clause.

E who

*Moja prijateljica da je profesor u universitetu... /M/

Moja prijateljica *koja* je profesor na univerzitetu...
My friend *who* is a professor at the university...

E that

*Prijateljstvo je nešto *da* će rasti. (JMc/
Prijateljstvo je nešto *što* će rasti.
Friendship is something *that* will grow.
(which will grow).

The use of *da* for *that* is probably the result of extending the equivalence of *that*-conjunction = *da* to every *that*. *Da* for *who* could be explained as a further generalization to *da* = relative pronoun.

2. The relative pronoun is the object of the clause.

a) in the accusative

E that or 0

*Engleski je najteži jezik *da* sam učila. /EE/
Engleski je najteži jezik *koji* sam učila.
English is the most difficult language I've learned.

*I još nešto: dosad je sami realistički komad *da* sam napisao. /NN, EE/
I još nešto: to je dosad jedini realistički komad *koji* sam napisao.
Moreover, it is up until now the only realistic play I have written.

*"Saslušanje Nicka" je prvi komad *da* sam napisao. /NN/
"Saslušavanje Nicka" je prvi komad *koji* sam napisao.
"The Questioning of Nick" is the first play I ever wrote.

The subjects have added *da* although the English original of the last two sentences (from Test 1) had 0 and the first sentence would probably have 0 as well. We may suppose that they have learned that the relative pronoun cannot be omitted but have not yet learned what pronoun to use.

b) in an oblique case

*Kad sam bila djevojčica te bi bilo nemogućno da se sam sjećala stvari *da* mogu se sjećam sada. /SY/

Kad sam bila djevojčica bilo je nemoguće da se sjećam stvari kojih se sada sjećam.
When I was a little girl it would have been impossible for me to remember things that I can remember now.

III E 0 - SC a

* Osim toga on je do sada jedini realistički komad a ja pišem. (AH)
Osim toga to je do sada jedini realistički komad koji sam napisao.
Moreover, it is up until now the only realistic play I have written.

Errors from the above groups I, II, III, we may say, fall into two phases:

Phase 1: The students do not know that the relative pronoun cannot be omitted.

Phase 2: The students know that the relative pronoun cannot be omitted, but instead of relative pronouns they use the conjunctions da and a.

The examples below are

Phase 3: The students know the relative pronouns, but make mistakes in choosing them.

IV E what - SC što instead of ono što

* Što sam video nisam voleo. /MB/
Ono što sam vidio, nije mi se dopalo.
What I saw, I didn't like.

* Svidja mi se što video sam. /MB/
Svidja mi se ono što sam vidio.
I like what I saw.

* Što su tebi pokazali je samo mali dio njihove knjižnice. /TG/
Ono što su tebi pokazali samo je mali dio njihove knjižnice.
What they showed you is only a small part of their library.

E what is both an interrogative pronoun (SC što) and a free relative (= that which, SC ono što). MB has left out ono, translating the free relative as though it were the interrogative.

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Relative what seems to be more difficult if preceded by a preposition:

> He didn't understand a word of what I told him.

Instead of translating the sentence as:

> Nije razumio ni riječi od onog što sam mu rekao.

two out of seven students translated of what as *(od) čega which is the Genitive Case of the interrogative što. Two others had merely *nijednu riječ što. This may be an attempt at translating what or it may be an attempt to make the relative construction which uses što, što ga, što mu after a noun as an alternative to koji. See below. A fifth answer, od čega što, seems to be mixture of the two.

An opposite error is seen in:

> *...hoćemo da ti nama rekneš ono što si radio sinoć. /J/
> ...hoćemo da nam kažeš što si sinoć radio.
> We'd like you to tell us what you did last night.

where what is translated by ono što, but incorrectly, because the clause is an indirect question.

V Oblique case of što instead of oblique case of koji

> * Šamut je selo blizu čega je naš ranč. /KA/
> Šamut je selo blizu kojega je naš ranč.
> Shamut is a village which our ranch is close to.

In SC, oblique cases of što are used as relative pronouns only when the antecedent is a neuter pronoun (nešto blizu čega... "something near which..."). KA may be confusing the declensions of što and koji, or he may be identifying što with E that or perhaps with which.

On the other hand when the antecedent is a neuter indefinite pronoun: nešto, ništa, ovo, ono, to, jedino, prvo, sve, only što is possible and not koji:

> I saw something there that I liked very much.
> Tamo sam vidio nešto što mi se jako dopalo.

Two students out of six had koje instead of što:

> * Tam sam video nešto koje jako volim. /TO/
> * Tamo sam vidio nešto koje se mi jako dopalo. /JH/

This mistake on the part of English speakers is not surprising when we consider that English neuter pronouns as a class do not influence the choice of relative pronoun (one can say both *something that* and *something which*), and when we consider that the existing text-books of SC do not mention this conditioning at all.

VI *Tko* instead of *koji*

> *I onda, za ovih ljudi *tko* meni kažu... /EE/
> I tako, onim ljudima *koji* mi kažu...
> And so, for those people who say to me...

Tko means *who* as an interrogative pronoun, but it is used as a relative only when the antecedent is an indefinite human pronoun (*netko tko*..."someone who"...). *Koji* is used as a relative in all other situations corresponding to English *who*.

The use of *tko* instead of *koji* is a widespread mistake especially when the antecedent is a masculine singular noun; three of six students translated

> Our neighbour, *who* works for an American company, left for New York yesterday.

as:

> *Naš susjed *tko*...

instead of:

> Naš susjed *koji*...

Two students out of seven translated

> Introduce me to that man *who* is sitting there in the corner.

as:

> *...čovjek *tko*...

instead of:

> ...čovjeku *koji*...

Two students out of seven translated

> I have a friend *who* lives in London.

as:

> *Imam prijatelja *tko*...

instead of:

Imam prijatelja koji...

On the other hand six out of six used a form of koji in translating

The woman who is just going into...

Our students use forms of tko in their translations even when there is no who in the English original:

The only people I could talk to were some Frenchmen.
Jedini ljudi s kojima sam mogao razgovarati bili su neki Francuzi.

Three out of six students translated this sentence as:

*Jedini ljudi s kim

Similarly two out of seven translated

The people he stayed with in London...

with a form of tko instead of koji. Besides the interference of E who there is another possible source of confusion between tko and koji: their forms can coincide in several oblique cases: koji; gen. sg. kojega and koga; dat.sg. kojemu and kome; tko; gen.sg. koga; dat.sg. kome.

VII Indeclinable što instead of koji

Some SC sentences containing a form of koji after a noun have alternative forms with što:

Onaj čovjek koji je jučer bio ovdje.

Onaj čovjek što je jučer bio ovdje.
The man who was here yesterday.

This što does not change for cases. When a Genitive or Accusative is needed inside a relative clause the personal pronoun ga (je, ih) is added:

Čovjek kojeg smo jučer vidjeli.

Čovjek što smo ga jučer vidjeli.
The man whom we saw yesterday.

When the Dative is needed mu (joj, im) are added.

Čovjek kojem smo jučer razbili prozor.

Čovjek što smo mu jučer razbili prozor.
The man whose window we broke yesterday.

Since the conditions under which što can be used as an alternative to koji are not yet clear, foreign students should be advised to use koji. We found only a couple of errors that can be an attempt at this što-construction:

> He had a coat on which was much too big for him.
> *Nosio je kaput što mu je bio mnogo prevelik. /JS/

instead of:

> Nosio je kaput koji mu je bio puno prevelik.

Also:

> Is that book you're reading a detective story?
> *Da li ovu knjigu što čitate detektivska priča. /JS/

In this case što is possible but je should be added.

> Da li je ova knjiga što je čitate detektivski roman?

Still koji is more usual and should be recommended:

> Da li je ova knjiga koju čitate detektivski roman?

VIII In the above examples the following system of errors seems to emerge:

	E	SC
1.	that, Ø	da, Ø
2.	what	što
3.	who	tko

The errors under 1. are glaring mistakes, but probably easier to correct than these under 2. and 3. where there is overlapping between what and što and between who and tko.

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APPENDIX Q

LEXICAL ERRORS
(Error Analysis)

Anuška Nakić

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LEXICAL ERRORS

(Error Analysis)

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In the absence of a satisfactory theory of lexical structure, the following analysis of lexical errors can only be a classification of the most frequent types of lexical errors with a few examples to illustrate them. Being aware of these types may help a teacher of SC to identify the source of interference or even to prevent some of the mistakes.

I Direct translations from English, using words which fit some of the meanings of the English word but do not cover the same semantic field.

Nouns:

1. * Počeo sam kada bio sam mladić, možda imao sam deset godina. (J)
   Počeo sam kad sam bio dječak, možda sam imao deset godina.
   I began when I was a boy; maybe when I was ten.

Mladić can correspond to boy in some of its meanings, but really means a full-grown young man, approximately 15 to 25; a younger, smaller boy is called dječak.

2. * Kad završim obrazovanje, moji planovi uključe, prvo, putovanje, a onda sina i kću. (J)
   Kad završim školovanje (studij), planiram najprije putovanje, a onda sina i kćer.
   When I finish my education (studies), my plans include first travelling, and then a son and a daughter.

Školovanje "schooling, training", is the process of acquiring an education for a specific purpose; the education which one acquires both in school and out of school is obrazovanje, e.g. Njegovo obrazovanje je nepotpuno "His education is incomplete".

3. * Volim iznad svega čitati književnost. (JB)
   Volim iznad svega (Najviše volim) čitati beletristiku.
   I like most of all to read literature.

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Književnost is a subject in school, or else all the literary works from a given country or period. Studiram rusku književnost "I'm studying Russian literature"; Francuska književnost je bogata "French literature is very rich"; Volim književnost "I like literature (the subject)". Volim beletristiku "I like literature (= fiction)."

4. *Slavistički jezici su tak teški za nas takodjer jer imaju muški i ženski rod i krajeve koji nema na engleskom. (TL)
Slavenski jezici su za nas tako teški i zbog toga što imaju muški i ženski rod i nastavke kojih u engleskom nema.
Slavic languages are so hard for us also because they have masculine and feminine genders and endings which don't exist in English.

Kraj means "end" and can translate "ending" in the sense of "end": Kraj komada je bio tužan "The ending of the play was sad". In grammar one speaks of "endings", SC nastavak.

5. *... tipičnu sobu glave male milicajske stanice. (EE)
... tipična soba šefa male milicijske stanice.
... a typical room for the head of a small police station.

Glava means "head" (part of the body), and has only a few metaphorical uses: glava kuće "head of the house". "Head" in the meaning "leader, boss" is usually šef, unless the proper title is used.

Verbs:

1. *Naravno ja bih dogovorio zato što biljarski stolovi ima samo u barima. (BB)
Naravno, ja bih se složio zato što biljarskih stolova ima samo u gostionicama.
Naturally I would agree, because they have (there are) billiard tables only in bars.

Dogovoriti se means "agree" in the sense "reach an agreement", especially through discussion or negotiation; "agree on a future course of action, decide." Složiti se means "have the same opinion, adopt someone else's proposal or opinion". Složio sam se da je on ljenčina. "I agreed that he was lazy". Složili smo se da idemo u kino, ali se nismo mogli dogovoriti koji film da gledamo "We agreed about going to the movies, but we couldn't

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agree (decide) on which film to see." *Šefovi država se nisu složili u svim pojedinostima, ali su se dogovorili da ostanu u kontaktu*. "The heads of state did not agree (have the same views) on all details, but they agreed to keep in contact."

2. **Oblačim* košulju, hlače, naočale i ručni *sat*. (DD)
Oblačim košulju i hlače, *stavljam* naočale i *sat*.
I *put on* my shirt, my pants, my glasses, and my *watch*.

Oblačiti "put on" refers only to articles of clothing, including gloves but not hats; *stavljati* is for hats, glasses, watches, jewlery, make-up, false teeth, contact lenses; *obuvati* for shoes.

3. * *Podignem* svoje knjige i ručak u vreči. (DD)
Uzimam (pokupim) knjige i vrećicu s ručkom.
I pick up my books and my lunch in a bag.

Podići means "pick up something dropped", also "pick up something waiting for you, like a package at the post office". *To pick up books and a lunch bag*, say from a table, would be *uzeti* "take" or *pokupiti* "collect, gather".

Adjectives:

1. * Ako moramo izaberimo važan *dubok* predmet. (CC)
Ako moramo izaberimo neku *ozbiljnu* temu.
If we have to, let's choose an *important*, *deep* subject.

Dubok is "deep" in the physical sense, and also in reference to feelings (and sleep); "deep, profound" in an intellectual sense is *ozbiljan* "serious" (or perhaps *težak* "difficult").

Adverbs:

1. * Brzo se umivam i se brijem i *možda* se češljam svoju kosu. (DD)
Brzo se umivam i brijem a *eventualno* (*a ponekad*) i češljam.
I wash and shave quickly and maybe (*sometimes*) comb my hair.

Možda "maybe" expresses the speaker's lack of knowledge. *Eventalno* means "under some conditions yes, under other conditions no"; for repeated actions it comes close to *ponekad* "sometimes". *On se možda počešlja kad ustane, ali ja ne znam*. "Maybe he combs his hair when he gets up; but I don't know." *On se eventualno počešlja kad ustane*. "Sometimes (on some days, under some conditions)

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he combs his hair when he gets up." For a single past action, only možda can be used: On je možda došao, ali ja nisam bio kod kuće. "Maybe he came (He may have come), but I wasn't at home." For a future action, either can be used: On će možda (eventualno) doći u Samobor. "He may come to Samobor." Eventualno does not express a greater probability that he will come, but it suggests that I know something about the reasons for his movements.

2. *Iako nije tačno "hobi" takodjer volim putovati. /BP/
Iako to nije baš hobi, takodjer volim putovati.
Although it's not exactly a hobby, I also like travelling.

Baš means "exactly, precisely, in the true sense of the word"; the speaker wishes to say that travelling is a sort of hobby, though not a really typical one like stamp collecting. Tačno (točno) is "exactly, precisely" refering to exact truth or accurate measurement: Točno ste to ocijenili "You judged that accurately", Vlak je stigao točno u 5.14. "The train came in at 5:14 exactly."

Dictionary confusions:

A special type of direct translation is taking the wrong meaning from a dictionary.

1. A student who was translating the sentence

> She may still attend meetings but she will have no right to vote.

apparently looked up attend and chose one of the SC meanings at random:

> *Smije još posluživati sastanke, ali neće imati pravo glasiti. (JS)

Posluživati means "attend" only in the sense "wait on, serve". Attend "be present at" is prisustvovati:

> Ona još uvijek može prisustvovati sastancima, ali neće imati pravo glasa.

This type of error can be even more serious than extending the semantic field of a word the student is familiar with; for to the SC listener, there is no similarity in sense whatever between "wait on" and "be present at".

2. Another probable example of dictionary confusion:

> *Kad biste me mogli obavijestiti o svemu što ću promašiti. (JH)

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J.H. evidently wanted to write "if you could tell me all the material which I will miss", since he was talking about not being present at the coming week's class. But promašiti (the first meaning given for miss in R. Filipović's Englesko-hrvatski rječnik) means "fail to hit the target, fail to attain a goal, fail to live up to expectations". A correct rendering would be:

> Kad biste me mogli obavijestiti o svemu što
> ću propustiti.

3. Two students, translating

> ... alternative suggestions...
> ... alternativni prijedlozi...

apparently looked in the same dictionary, for they both came up with *izmjenični prijedlozi. Izmjeničan is one of the four meanings given for alternative, although strictly speaking it does not belong there because it is normally used only in the phrase izmjenična struja "alternating current".

4. A fourth example of dictionary confusion is seen in one student's translation of the sentence

> I hope he won't be mad.
> * Nadam se da neće biti lud. (J.Sch.)
> Nadam se da se neće ljutiti.

Mad was used in the American sense of "angry"; but most existing E-SC dictionaries are based on the British variant, and therefore give lud "crazy, insane" as the first definition.

II Wrong choices not conditioned directly by English but by a confusion within SC.

a. Words similar in form:

> *... ali skoro sam naučila da nije to... (SI)
> ... ali sam uskoro naučila da to nije...
> ... but I soon learned that it is not ...

Uskoro means "soon". Skoro means "almost", and in referring to future events it can also mean "soon".

b. Words connected in meaning:

> *... zbog toga nema dosta igrališta i ako
> hoće igrati mora ustajati vrlo rano i na-
> laziti mesto. (BP)

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> ... zbog toga nema dosta igrališta i ako želi igrati mora ustati vrlo rano i _tražiti_ mjesto.
> ... because of that there aren't enough (tennis) courts and if he wants to play he has to get up very early and _look for_ a place.

Tražiti means "look for"... _Naći_ "find" would also be possible, but we cannot have _nalaziti_, the imperfective form of _naći_, which could be translated as "be in the process of finding".

c. A special case of a. is the confusion of words formed from the same root by different means. In these examples, the words are correctly formed but incorrectly used.

> *Ovo _plesanje_ ima trije tisuće godine je nastalo kao _plesanje_ plodnosti. (M)
> Ovaj _ples_ je star tri tisuće godina i nastao je kao _ples_ plodnosti.
> This _dance_ is three thousand years old and originated as a fertility _dance_.

Ples "dance"; _plesanje_ "the process of dancing".

> *Svaki ima svoju slobodu od _roda_ do smrti. (KS)
> Svatko ima svoju slobodu od _rodjenja_ do smrti.
> Everybody has his own freedom from _birth_ to death.

Both words are from the root _rod_- "give birth to", but _rod_ now means "family, lineage; gender; a relative", while "birth, being born" is _rodjenje_.

> *Ovo je moj četvrti _put_ u Evropi. (BB)
> Ovo je moje četvrto _putovanje_ u Evropu.
> This is my fourth _trip_ to Europe.

Putovanje means "trip, journey"; _put_ has that meaning only in certain expressions, e.g. _ići na put_ "go (away) on a trip, go travelling", _biti na putu_ "be (away) on a trip". _Put_ can also mean "road, path", and "time", e.g. "the first time, many times". If BB meant to say "This is my fourth time in Europe", that would be _Sad sam četvrti put u Evropi_ "Now I am in Europe for the fourth time", _Ovo je četvrti put da sam u Evropi_ "This is the fourth time that I have been in Europe".

> *Kako može primijetiti čovjek _prolaz_ godina. (SY)
> Kako može čovjek primijetiti _prolaženje_ godina?

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How can one notice the passing of years?

Prolaženje is the process of passing; prolaz is "passage" in various other senses, e.g. "a passage" (tunnel, path), "right to pass through, clear path through".

*Daljine izmedju mjestima je sada duže nego
kad je bio mladić (SY)
Udaljenost izmedju gradova je sada veća nego
kad je bio mlad.
The distances between cities are greater
now than when he was young.

Udaljenost means "distance" which is measured, for example in kilometers. Daljina is the state of being far away, as in Vlak se polako gubio u daljini "The train slowly disappeared in the distance".

d. Systems within SC:

1. There are some SC verbs which should be taught in pairs to cover one E verb:

*Ali naročito volim drame koje privlače
mnogo ljudi i zarade mnogo novaca. (JSch)
Ali ja naročito volim drame koje privlače
mnogo ljudi i donose mnogo novaca.
But I especially like plays that attract
a lot of people and make a lot of money.

In E both a man and a play can make money. In SC we have two verbs depending on the subject.

Mi smo zaradili mnogo novaca na prodaji
kuće.
We made a lot of money on the sale of the
house.

Zaraditi is used when the subject is a person or an institution that collects the money. Donositi (novac) is used when the subject is the object on which money is made:

Prodaja kuće nam je donijela mnogo novaca.
The sale of the house made a lot of money
for us.

The student made a mistake because she knew only one equivalent of the E verb to make money.

2. The situation with the verbs ići and hodati is a little more complicated because they have to be taught in connection with two E verbs go and walk in order to avoid such mistakes as:

*... skrenite lijevo i hodajte do prvog ugla. (JS)
... skrenite lijevo i idite do prvog ugla.
... turn left and go/walk to the first corner.

Go always corresponds to ići, never to hodati. Walk conveys the idea of movement on foot with or without definite goal:

We walked to the station.
The baby can already walk.
I like to walk (in the mountains).
Somebody's walking around upstairs.

Hodati is not used when a definite goal is stated or implied. Then one must say ići or ići pješice:

Išli smo (pješice) na stanicu.
but:
Beba već hoda.
Volim hodati (po planinama).
Netko hoda gore tamo-amo.

3. Here is another mistake which probably would not have occured if the word had been taught in relation to other SC and E expressions:

*... neće moći posjetiti roditelje kojih obično posjeća ljetos. (JS)
... neće moći posjetiti roditelje koje obično ljeti posjećuje.
... she won't be able to visit her parents, who she usually visits in the summer.

Ljetos means "this summer":

a. the coming summer:

Kamo ćete ljetos?
Where are you going this summer?

or

b. the summer which has just passed:

Gdje ste bili ljetos?
Where did you go this summer?

or

c. during the summer itself:

Ljetos imamo sreću s vremenom.
We've been lucky with the weather this summer.

Ljeti means "in summer (in general); summers"

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Ne volim raditi ljeti.
I don't like to work in summer.
Ljeti uvijek idemo na more.
We always go the coast in summer.

In the summer in English can mean "this summer" in meanings a. and b., but also "in summer" like ljeti:

Where are you going in the summer?
Where did you go in the summer?

There are analogous pairs for the other seasons:

zimus - zimi
proljetos - u proljeće
jesenas - u jesen

III Errors in word formation

1. A great number of errors were found in the formation of adjectives from nouns. We find mistakes a) in the choice of adjective suffix, b) in the formal changes which a suffix may require, and c) in the choice of base noun to make an adjective from when several nouns are associated in a system. We can conclude that special studies of adjective formation should be undertaken and in the meantime students should learn each noun with its corresponding adjective.

a.*Šljunačni for šljunčani. This is the adjective from šljunak "gravel". The student made it by adding the ending -ni which calls for the change of k to č. However, this word forms its adjective with the suffix -ani added to šljunk- (the stem of the oblique cases), accompanied by the same change.

Napolejonski for Napoleonov

*... odbacuje Napolejonski dug Švajcarčima /JS/
... ne priznaje Napoleonov dug Švicarcima
... Spurns Napoleonic Debt to Swiss (newspaper headline)

Since the story tells about a debt which Napoleon himself incurred the possessive adjective in -ov should have been used.

Adjectives in -ski (or in other suffixes + ski) from personal names do not indicate that something belongs to the person named, but that it is similar or comparable to him: one might say napoleonovsko držanje if someone else stands in the familiar posture of Napoleon. Andrić's style is Andrićev stil, but another writer who writes like him has an andrićevski stil;similarly

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Krležin stil is Krleža's own, and _krležijanski stil_ is that of somebody imitating him.

The opposite error is seen in

*_Lihtenštajnov_ jedini zatvor (ChG)
jedini _lihtenštajnski (lichtensteinski)_ zatvor
Lichtenstein's only jail

Names of countries not being persons, do not have possessive adjectives in -_ov_, -_ev_, -_in_; instead they generally take -_ski_. Belgija, _belgijski_; Argentina, argentinski; etc.

*zemlja, dio _skijašnog_ centra ... (JS)
zemlja, dio _skijaškog_ centra ...
the land, part of the ski resort of...

J.S. correctly took the noun _skijaš_ "skier" as a base to build the adjective from, but did not realize that nouns made with _aš_ always require the adjective suffix -_ski_ (→ -_ški_).

b.*_trbuhni_ for _trbušni_. This is the adjective from _trbuh_ "belly". The suffix -_ni_ requires the change of _h_ to _š_, parallel to _k_ to _č_.

c.*_teletinski_ for _teleći_ "veal". This non-existent adjective was made by the student by adding -_ski_ to the noun _teletina_ "veal" instead of directly from _tele_ "calf" with -_eći_.

*_slavistički_ jezici (TL)
slavenski jezici
Slavic languages

Slavistički is the adjective from _slavist_ "Slavist, Slavic scholar" or from _slavistika_ "Slavic studies". The adjective from _Slaven_ "Slav" is _slavenski_ "Slavic".

2. We often find existing morphological elements added to existing words resulting in words which do not exist:

*... teško i _nejednostavno_ pitanje (JSch)
... teško i _komplicirano_ pitanje
... a difficult and involved question

_ne_ is used with a good many adjectives but not _jednostavan_ (nenamjeran "unintentional"; nekulturan "uncultured"; etc.)

*... u graničnom _reuredjenju_ u 1947g. /JS/
... prilikom _promjene_ granice 1947.
... in a 1947 border realignment.

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re meaning again is found in SC generally with foreign words: reorganizacija, remilitarizacija, revakcinacija. The only native SC words with which it appears are: reizbor, reizbornost "reappointment".

> *... kod *prekzadnje* tramvajske stanice. (TO)
> ... kod *predzadnje* tramvajske stanice
> ... at the next-to-the-last streetcar stop

prek- is restricted to certain time expressions: *prekjučer* "the day before yesterday", *preklani* "the year before last", *preksutra* "the day after tomorrow". From the first two examples one might think that it meant *before* but really its meaning is *farther from now* in either direction.

3. Sometimes students try to make words from roots or stems that they know i.e. not from complete words. This one student constructed the words: **zbitevi* "summaries" (cf. *zbiti* "compress, condense"), **zaposlenici* "employees" (*zaposlen* "employed").

These are not such serious errors since the results are usually understandable.

IV Morphological adaptation of English words.

> * Tamo kak vi naravno već znate ima mnogo *prostituta*. (TL)
> Tamo, kao što vi naravno već znate ima mnogo *prostitutki*.
> There, as you of course already know, there are a lot of prostitutes.

T.L. having heard a similar word in SC, took the English form *prostitute* and presumably made a feminine noun in *-a* from it: **prostituta*. But in fact the SC word has the suffix *-ka*: *prostitutka*.

V Phraseology. Translations of English constructions.

1. * Ja sam uvijek *bio na vrijeme*. (KA)
   Ja sam uvijek *dolazio na vrijeme* (točno, točno na vrijeme); ja sam uvijek bio točan.
   I have always been on time.

In SC one can "be accurate" or "come accurately" or "come on time".

2. * Mladen i svoja sestra se svadjaju i sada on će *biti kasno*. (AH)
   Mladen i njegova sestra se svadjaju i sad će on *zakasniti*.

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Mladen and his sister are fighting and
now he'll be late.

SC requires a separate verb for "be late","be early".

3. *... kad sam bio sedam godine (BP)
... kad mi je bilo sedam godina, kad sam imao sedam godina
when I was seven (years old)

In SC one cannot "be seven (years)"; one "has seven years" or seven years "are to one" (dative).

4. * Bilo mi je jako zabavno voziti gore brda
i brzo voziti dolje drugu stranu. (BB)
Bilo mi je jako zabavno voziti uzbrdo i
onda se brzo spustiti nizbrdo.
It was lots of fun for me to drive up the
hill and drive fast down the other side.

BB has literally translated "up the hill" and "down the other side", but SC requires single-word expressions "uphill" and "downhill".

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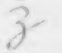
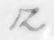
APPENDIX R

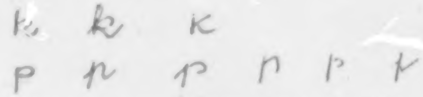
AMERICAN-ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN HANDWRITING

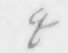
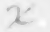
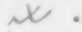
Wayles Browne - Anuška Nakić

Wayles Browne - Anuška Nakić

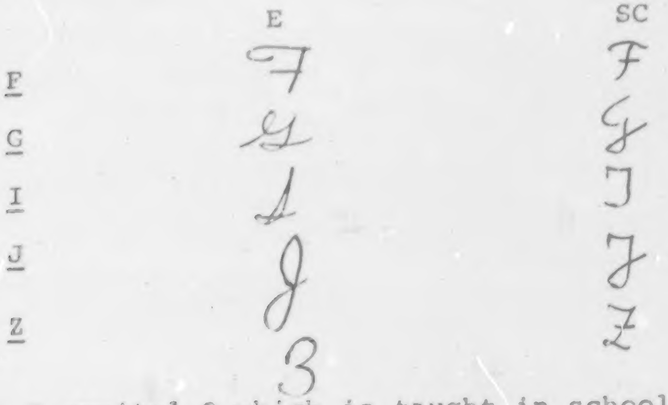
AMERICAN-ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN HANDWRITING

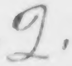
Almost all the small letters of the Latin alphabet are written similarly in E and SC. The only striking difference is z: E , and SC . SC k and p have several free variations:

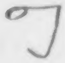


Two letters which are not, strictly speaking, part of the SC alphabet also show differences: q E , SC , and x E , SC .

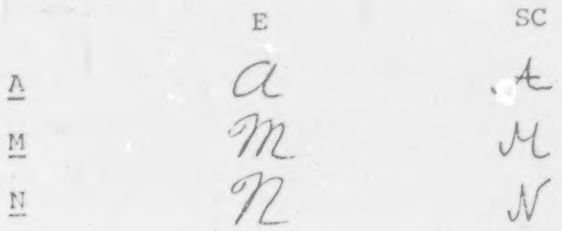
The capital letters are more different, and some of the E capitals are totally illegible to the SC eye:



The E capital Q which is taught in schools, , will not be identifiable.

One variant of T in E can also be quite misleading:  which would be read as I and J.

Several other E capitals look like small letters, while in SC handwriting they have separate capital forms:



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Both in E and SC there is a tendency to use printed capitals in handwriting. This will eliminate most sources of confusion, but one letter is still different: J E J, SC J . The E letter might be taken for T.

Of the numbers, the most striking differences are in 1 and 7:

E	1	SC	1 1
E	7	SC	7 7 7

A 7 without a cross may easily be read as a 1 by the SC reader, and conversely, a SC 1 may be taken for a 7 by the E learner. Also different, however, is 4:

E 4 4 , SC 4 4 .

In handwritten texts one occasionally has to add a word or more. In both languages the added material is written above the line, but E uses a caret below the line to indicate where it goes, while SC draws two curved lines around it meeting in a point:

je
On ∨ bio moj student.

has
He ∧ been my student.

je za vrijeme rata
On ∨ bio moj student.

was formerly
He ∧ my student.

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APPENDIX S

PHRASE STRESS IN SERBO-CROATIAN AND ENGLISH

Wayles Browne

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Wayles Browne

PHRASE STRESS IN SERBO-CROATIAN AND ENGLISH

In both SC and E, as in many other languages, the general rule for stress in groups of words is that the word at the end gets the strongest stress. We can indicate the main stress of a group by underlining the word carrying it.

Mr. *Smith*.
Gospodin *Kovačić*.

John *Smith*.
Ivan *Kovačić*.

April *thirtieth*, the thirtieth of *April*.
Tridesetog *travnja*.

Find *John*.
Pronadji *Ivana*!

Fifty *dinars*.
Pedeset *dinara*.

A free *kick*.
Slobodan *udarac*.

Both languages deviate from this pattern when a word before the last is contrasted with some other.

Not *John* Smith but *Mary* Smith.
Ne *Ivan* Kovačić nego *Marija* Kovačić.

John came the *twenty-ninth* of April, and
Mary came the *thirtieth* (of April).
Ivan je došao *dvadeset devetog* travnja, a
Marija je došla *tridesetog* (travnja).

In E there are many deviations from the last-word-stressed pattern caused by the syntactic structure of the phrase. When a noun modifies a noun, the first noun usually has main stress.

Sentence structure.
School friends.
Syllable structure.
Sales tax.
Auto mechanic.
Radio station.

The SC equivalents to noun-noun constructions are usually adjective-noun:

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Rečenična struktura.
Školski drugovi.

or noun-genitive or noun + prepositional phrase:

Struktura sloga.
Porez na promet.

In all such cases, the SC main stress is on the last element. Even when a noun-noun construction is found, the main stress still goes on the last noun:

Auto mehaničar.
Radio stanica.

(though automehaničar is also possible, we would consider that it has become a compound, i.e. is a single word.) If the E-speaking student learns the correct SC equivalents for his noun-noun constructions, he will probably follow the general last-word pattern and stress them correctly, except perhaps for the rare SC N-N constructions. A more insidious difficulty is created by some E adjective-noun groups which are exceptions to the pattern and have stress on the adjective.

high school
advisory board
deep structure
meteorological bureau

The equivalent SC adjective-noun groups are never exceptions to the pattern:

srednja škola
savjetodavno vijeće
dubinska struktura
hidrometeorološki zavod

although an E-speaking learner may be tempted to treat them as such. Thus one American student of SC followed the pattern of some place names in English:

New Haven (variant of New Haven)

and stressed the first word of

*Novi Sad

In fact the pronunciation of adjective + noun place names in SC has the main accent on the noun:

Novi Sad
Novi Zagreb
Stara Pazova

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Sveta Nedjelja
Titovo Uzice

Only when they grow together into one word can the stress be on the first element: Starigrad, u Starigradu. If the first element is declined, then stress reappears on the noun: U Starom Gradu.

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APPENDIX T

THE INTONATION OF QUESTIONS IN SERBO-CROATIAN AND ENGLISH

Anuška Nakic - Wayles Browne

Anuška Nakić - Wayles Browne

THE INTONATION OF QUESTIONS IN SERBO-CROATIAN AND ENGLISH

1. Questions without a question word show a special intonation on the word being asked about.[1] The full realization of this intonation requires an accented syllable and at least one post-accentual syllable. The accented syllable is pronounced on a low tone (lower than the preceding part of the sentence) with a distinct fall in pitch, independent of the nature of the word's accent ("rising accent, falling accent"). The first post-accentual syllable is high. Subsequent syllables, if any, fall gradually in pitch.

```
                             j a t e l j i ?
O n i  s u  v a š i  p r
                         i
```

"They're your friends?"

Syllables preceding the word's accented syllable show a gradual slight fall:

```
                                       r a t i?
V i  ć e t e  t o  o r g a n i
                               z
                                i
```

"You're going to organize that?"

If there is only one syllable after the accent, it is high, as we said.

t o v?
O n j e - g
o

"He´s ready?"

But if this syllable is long, the second part of it may be lower than the first; that is, the fall begins within the long syllable.

b a - a r?
O n j e
z
u

"He´s a dentist?"

If the word has only one syllable, there is no post-accentual syllable. There are two possible ways to realize the question intonation here. One is to pronounce the low falling pitch on the last syllable of the preceding word:

b r a t?
O n j e P e t r
o v

"He´s Peter´s brother?"

The other is applied when there is no preceding syllable either; that is, when the entire sentence consists of one one-syllable word. This word is pronounced on a mid or high tone with a slight rise in pitch; if the syllable is long, the rise is clearer:

p a s? j e - e ž?

"A dog?" "A hedgehog?"

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It is important to note that the syllable is not (or is only slightly) drawn out for the purpose of pronouncing the question intonation.

The corresponding English questions without an explicit question word have a quite different pattern. The sentence begins fairly low, as does the SC sentence, and the accented syllable of the word asked about is distinctly higher. The post-accentual syllables get higher and higher:

He's ready?

Mary's his mother-in-law?

If the questioned word is only one syllable, it can be drawn out in order to pronounce the rising intonation on it:

They're your frie-e-nds?

We have in fact observed that E speakers both continue to climb after the accented syllable and stretch out the accented syllable in making SC questions of this type. The stretching-out is quite unknown in SC; however the climb after the accented syllable is similar to one variant of what we might call the SC surprised-reaction question. If one hears

Ja to vjerujem.

one might react

Ti to vjeruješ?!

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or vjeruješ?!

Tito

that is, with the accented syllable very high and followed either by a further climb or by a slight fall. And indeed some of our American students´ SC questions are interpreted as surprised reactions by the SC listener.

There is an alternative way of asking such questions without the lowfall + high intonation. That is to pronounce them exactly like statements with one emphasized word, but followed by *je l´* pronounced with a low, somewhat rising tone:

On je Petrov brat, je l´?

On je gotov, je l'?

This pattern with *je l'* is probably easier for the foreign speaker to master than the lowfall + high, and the *je l´* is an audible signal of a question and thus reduces the risk of misunderstanding. However, it is used only in colloquial speech.

2. *K-questions*. In English grammar questions beginning with the words *who*, *what*, *why*, *where*, *how* etc. are often called *Wh*-questions, from the letters with which most of them begin. The corresponding SC words mostly begin with *K*: *koji*, *kakav*, *kako*, *kada*, so we can refer to them all as K-questions (even though *što*, *tko*, *gdje*, *zašto* now begin with other sounds). In studying the intonation of K-questions, we have to distinguish between questions with no special emphasis on any word and those with one word emphasized. If the question word itself is emphasized,

Tko

je danas bio u kinu?

"Who was at the movies today?"

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Za
što je on danas bio u kinu?

"Why was he at the movies today?"

its accentd syllable is high-pitched and the rest of the sentence is low and level, just as in a declarative sentence with the first word emphasized:

On
je danas bio u kinu.

"He was at the movies today."

Pe
tar je danas bio u kinu.

"Peter was at the movies today."

If some other word is emphasized, its accented syllable is high-pitched and the rest of the sentence (including the K-word) is relatively low and level:

Zašto je danas bio u ki
nu?

just as in a declarative with one word emphasized:

Petar je danas bio u ki
nu.

However, if there is no special emphasis anywhere in the sentence, the K-word is pronounced with a high pitch which gradually falls until the end of the sentence:

Tko je danas bio u kinu?

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Zašto je on danas bio u kinu?

This is in sharp contrast to the English question pattern. In E questions with the Wh-word emphasized, it is high-pitched and the rest of the sentence relatively low, as in SC:

Who
went to the movies tod
ay?
ay?

There are two possibilities at the end - going up or going down. Only the downward movement is similar to SC questions; it is also similar to declaratives with the first word emphasized.

John
went to the movies today.

When some other word than Wh-word is emphasized, the other word is high-pitched and the whole rest of the sentence is low, with a down-turn at the end:

mo
Who went to the vies today?

d
Who went to the movies to ay?

When no word is particularly emphasized, the Wh-word is low, as are the words following it; the last syllable bearing a strong stress is on a relatively high pitch, followed usually by a down-turn:

mo
Who went to the vies?

or

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```
                 mo   s?
Who went to the    vie
```

In the example

```
                 mo
Who went to the    vies to
                          day?
```

or

```
                 mo
Who went to the    vies to  y?
                          da
```

movies is still the last strongly-stressed word, since today normally has weaker stress.[2]

The SC pattern with high-pitched K-words sounds to E-speakers as though the K-words were being emphasized, and even though it is given to them as a model to imitate they find great difficulty in using it in spontaneous speech. When they do not intend emphasis they begin with a low-pitched K-word:

```
                        ki
*Tko je danas bio     u
                          nu?
```

or

```
                        ki
*Tko je danas bio     u         u?
                          nu -
```

The low-pitched beginning with only the last word high means emphasis on that word to the SC ear. The possible final upturn, as in our second example, reminds the SC speaker of the intonation used to repeat someone else's question:

Ivan:

```
Tko je
       danas
             bio u ki
                      nu?
```

Marija:

Tko je danas bio u kinu?

"You're asking me who was at the movies today?"

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NOTES

1. Cf. Richard L. Leed, "The Intonation of Yes-No Questions in Serbo-Croatian", *Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. XII, No. 3 (1968), University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 330-336.
   Pavle Ivić, Ilse Lehiste, "Prilozi ispitivanju fonetike i fonološke prirode akcenata u savremenom srpskohrvatskom književnom jeziku", *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, Novi Sad, XII (1969) pp. 115-166.; XIII/2 (1970) pp. 225-246.; XV/1 (1972) pp. 95-138.

2. It is a word with low inherent prominence; see: A. Nakić, "Word Order (Error Analysis)."